A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
Princeton University
in Candidacy for the
Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy

BY

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MCMXXII

Accepted June 1921

By the Departments of
Archaeology
and
Classics

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[Reprinted from the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Second Series, Vol. XXV (1921), No. 2]

American School
of Classical Studies
at Athens

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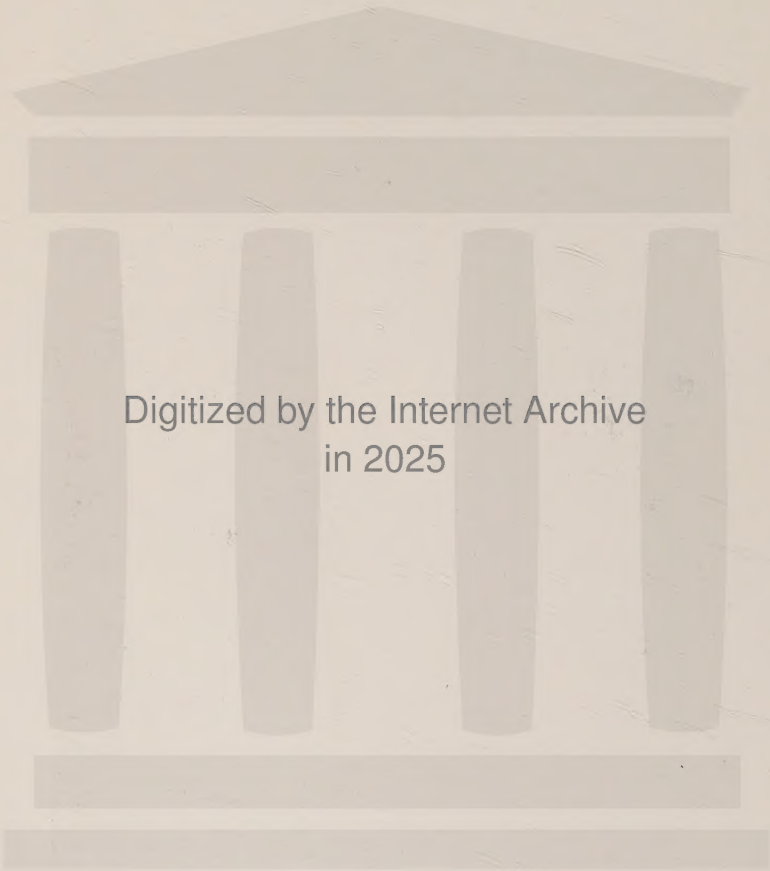
[PLATES V–VII]

DURING the course of the excavations conducted at Old Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1914–1915 there came to light the remarkable series of Roman portrait sculptures which are to be considered in this and subsequent articles. These comprise no less than eight major pieces, of which four have their features sufficiently well preserved to admit of a probable identification, while two others may be determined through fairly plausible conjecture. In addition to the eight just mentioned there was found a large number of fragments of works of a similar sort, most of which are too small to permit of restoration yet which are of some interest in themselves and in that they serve also to throw light on the more important works.

All the larger sculptures as well as the great majority of the fragments date apparently from the Roman imperial period and show strong resemblances both in style and technique. The material throughout the series is a Pentelic marble of uniformly fine grain, and the works themselves almost without exception were unearthed at the level of Roman stratification and well within the same general excavation area. This area is located at the southeast corner of the ancient market place and comprises a considerable space above and to the south of the spring Pirene. Here were uncovered the foundations of a large rectangular building of the Roman period (Fig. 1), a structure solidly and even magnificently built and apparently of considerable importance. From its size, shape, rich marble decoration, and in particular the number of bronze and bone *styli* found within its confines it seems probable that the building served as a *basilica*. All the statues save one of minor importance were unearthed within its limits, and it seems entirely probable that in it—or perhaps on it—they were originally set up.

American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series. Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Vol. XXV (1921), No. 2. .

Portrait Statue of Augustus: Corinth.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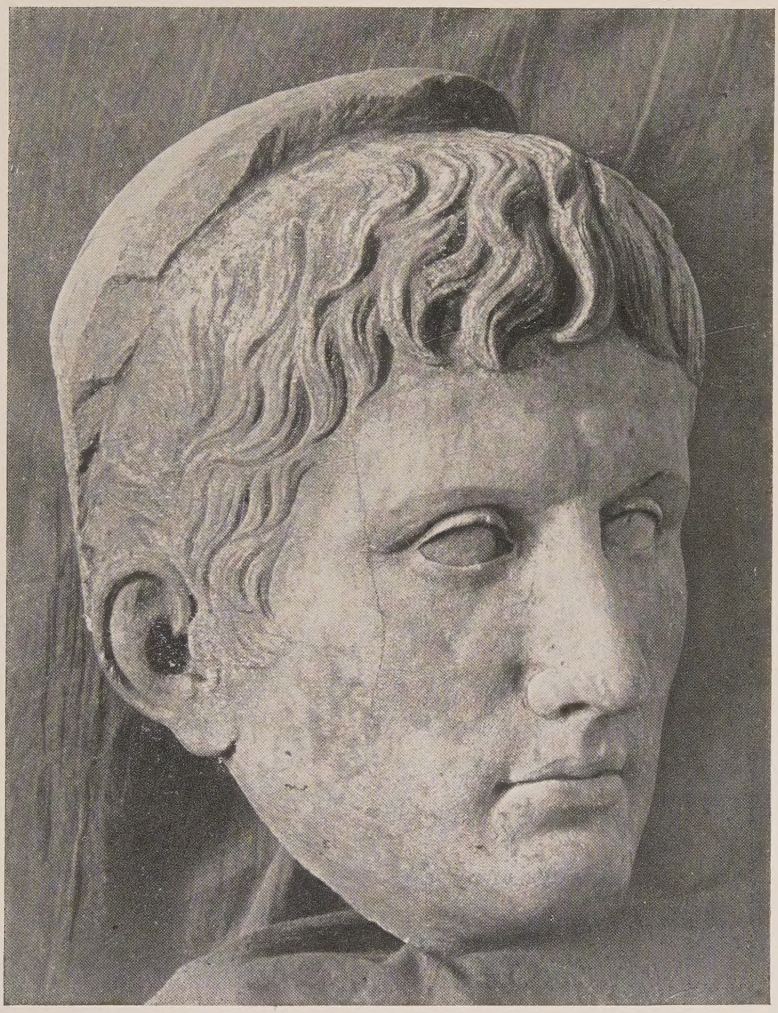
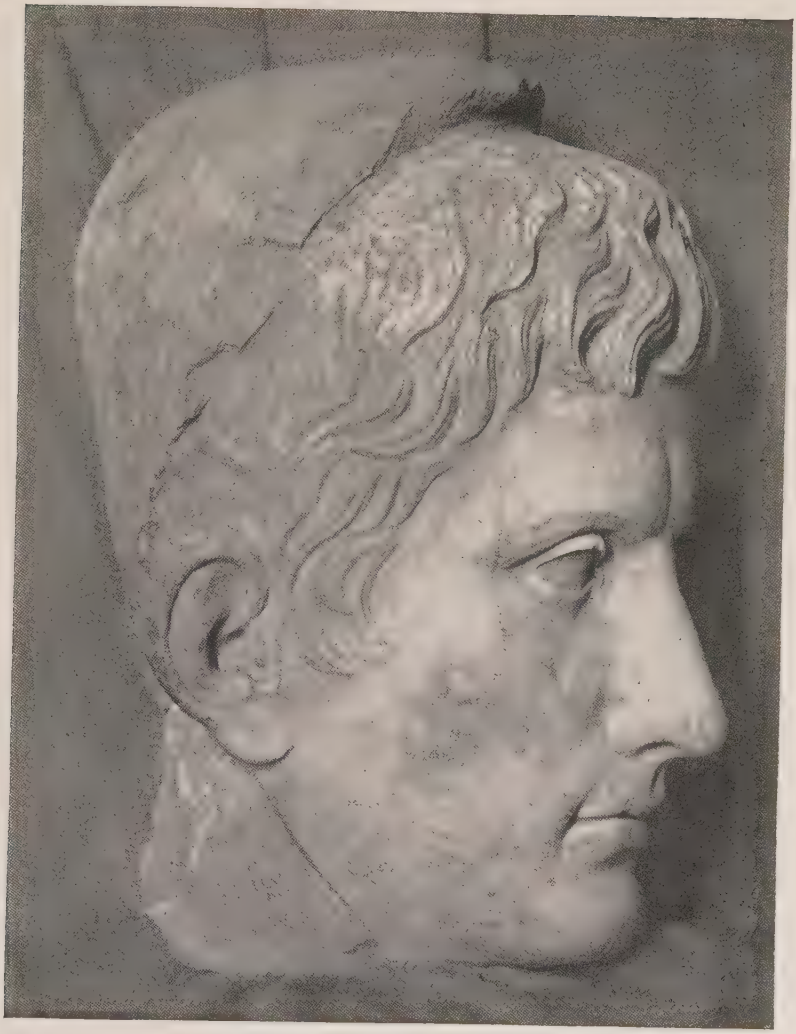


Head of Augustus: Corinth.



Profile of Augustus: Corinth.

In my study of the group I shall present the individual portraits in the order of certainty of identification, those pieces offering least difficulty in that respect being first considered. They will then be discussed together as probable constituents of a single historic group, the date and occasion for the setting up of which may perhaps be determined. In an additional section I shall consider in its broader aspects the question of the sculpture of the imperial period in Greece, with the more specific problem

FIGURE 1.—ROMAN BASILICA: CORINTH.

of the neo-Attic school in Greece. And finally, an attempt will be made to prove that in imperial Roman portraiture there were ordinarily used standard types or canons which originated in Rome in authoritative works and were sent out in the form of clay or waxen models—"*imagines*"—to be reproduced in monumental form in the provinces.[1]

[1] I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for valuable criticism and suggestions in the preparation of this and the following papers to Dr. B. H. Hill, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and to Professor G. W. Elderkin of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University.

I. Augustus

This statue of Augustus (Plates V, VI, and VII) was discovered lying apparently as it had fallen,[1] imbedded in a thick stratum of broken Roman tiles, marble fragments, small stones and debris at a depth of between three and four meters and well within the northwest corner of the Roman basilica mentioned above.[2] The figure rested on its right side with the head slightly lower than the rest of the body, and had apparently been thrown down with great violence. It seems probable that it stood originally on an upper floor of the building, had been shaken from its basis by an earthquake which destroyed the basilica itself, and had fallen through to the basement with the debris of the shattered roof and walls; from the time of its fall and the general destruction of the building it had not been disturbed. Immediately above it was an accumulation of early Byzantine debris, and just over the shoulder of the statue passed the foundations of a small wall of the same period, its base resting on the stratum of Roman tiles and marble fragments in which the figure was imbedded.

The statue itself is considerably larger than life-size and, with the exception of the hands, is preserved from the crown of the head to the middle of the lower leg, its total height being 2.00 m. (cf. Plate V).[3] The left hand and the right hand and forearm were made in separate pieces and attached by means of strong dowels, the cuttings for which still remain. Although the feet and legs are lacking from below the middle of the shin, there were found in the same stratum with the statue itself two marble fragments of a large left ankle which must certainly have belonged to the figure. At the back of the ankle a perpendicular line of breakage indicates that the leg was reënforced by a marble

[1] Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pp. 53–54, in giving the "*Fundorten*" of the portraits of Augustus listed by him, mentions none of Greek provenience, and only one—doubtful, from Constantinople—as from the whole eastern half of the Roman Empire. The Corinthian Augustus, then, appears to be a unique work in Greece.

[2] Basilicas were often used to receive imperial portraits. Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 22, ". . . *indem man annehmen darf, dass in jeder einigermassen nennenswerten Stadt, in den meisten Basiliken und offiziellen Versammlungslokalen, auf allen ihm geweihten Triumphbögen und in allen seinen Tempeln eines oder mehrere dergleichen (Bildnisse) aufgestellt waren.*"

[3] Further dimensions: greatest width .75 m., length of neck .115 m., length of face .185 m., width of face .165 m., height of forehead .05 m., length of nose .075 m., from nose to chin .065 m., width of mouth .053 m.

"tree trunk," or support of some sort. The rim of the heavy loop of drapery passing down the right side of the body is more or less chipped (cf. PLATE V), as are also the horizontal roll at the waist beneath the right elbow and the edge of the veil over the crown of the head (cf. PLATE VI). Elsewhere, save for minor abrasions, the drapery is well preserved.

The material is a good grade of Pentelic marble in which appear, however, a few veins of silvery schist or mica; a particularly well-marked vein runs the whole length of the right side passing just in front of the right arm, over the right shoulder, and diagonally through the back of the neck and head from right to left. Along this vein several breaks occur, particularly those about the head and face.

The statue is a draped male figure represented in the guise of a priest, or magistrate engaged in pouring a sacrificial libation, the upper folds of the rich ceremonial toga being drawn over the head to form a sacrificial veil.[1] The weight of the figure is supported on the right leg, while the left is slightly bent at the knee and extended forward. The left arm is bent nearly horizontal at the elbow with the forearm extended supporting the heavy folds of drapery which fall along the thigh and leg. The right forearm, now lacking, was advanced to the right and was bare. Many analogies may be quoted for the pose and the general handling of the drapery.[2] The right hand probably held a *patera*, the usual

[1] Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Grecques et Romaines*, s.v. *sacrificium*, Rome II,—"In public sacrifices celebrated in the name of the state, the one who sacrificed was a magistrate, *consul* or *proconsul*, *praetor* or *propraetor*, or *sacerdos*. . . . The sacrificing priest or magistrate, if he wished strictly to observe the *ritus Romanus*, had to sacrifice *velato capite*, i.e., covering with his toga the whole top of the head and back of the neck,—the so-called *cinctus Gabinus*, for which cf. Servius, *Ad Aen.* V, 755. The origin of this custom is not known, but cf. *Aeneid*, III, ll. 403–409. The veiling occurs on numerous monuments, among them: 1. Roman coins. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.* figs. 6004, 6005; also Cohen, *Med. Imp. Rom.*, I, pl. IX, No. 18; 2. Ara Pacis. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, fig. 6006; also Petersen, *Ara Pacis*, plates; 3. The Augustus of Otricoli. Cf. Helbig, *Führer*, 2nd ed., No. 327; 4. Statue of a priest in the Vatican. Cf. Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clem.* III, 19; also Clarac, *Musée du Louvre*, pl. 768 b, No. 1909; 5. Several reliefs of the Column of Trajan. Cf. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, pls. XXXVIII and LXXVI; 6. Relief of Marcus Aurelius sacrificing, Palazzo dei Conservatori. Cf. Helbig, *op. cit.*, No. 561.

[2] The following are the most important: 1. Augustus veiled, in Vatican. Cf. Overbeck, *Gesch. der Gr. Plastik*, II, fig. 234 g; Duruy, *Hist. des Rom.* III, p. 725, cut. In this figure the pose of body, position of legs and arms, and pose

attribute of this type of figure.[1] The head is turned rather sharply to the right, and the gaze follows the general direction indicated by the right arm; the eyes appear to be focused on a point at some little distance, but their expression is not of great intensity. The ears are rather prominent and, as usual in this type of veiled head, appear to be pushed forward by the edge of the veil which passes just behind them.[2]

The head and face were found in three separate pieces the largest of which comprises the neck with the back and top of the head, the left ear with the hair just above it, and the folds of the

of head are almost exactly similar to the Corinthian Augustus; the drapery is also very like, though more voluminous and lacking the remarkable loop or *sinus* at the right knee (cf. our Pl. V). 2. Augustus veiled, in Royal Museum, Madrid. Cf. Reinach, *Rep. de la Stat. Grecque et Romaine*, I, p. 563, pl. 916 A, No. 2337 A; Hübner, *Antike Bildw. zu Madrid*, No. 78; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 39, No. 63. Here also the pose is very similar, but the drapery much freer and more voluminous. 3. Augustus veiled, in Borghese Museum, Rome. Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 578, No. 8; Nibby, *Mon. Borgh.*, pl. 10; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, p. 32, No. 25; Helbig, *Führer*, No. 896 (edit. 1891). Here the position of the legs is reversed, but the treatment of the drapery and the pose of arms and head are almost identical with the Corinthian Augustus; the *sinus*, however, does not fall so sharply, and extends only *to* the right knee and not *below* it.

[1] Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.* s.v. *patera*,—"It is often put in the hands of magistrates, emperors, and divinities themselves." See also *s.v. sacrificium*, fig. 6004, a Roman coin on which is a male figure in a toga, head veiled, pouring a libation from a *patera* in the right hand upon a flaming altar. Cf. also Augustus as Pontifex Maximus in Vatican, Overbeck, *op. cit.* II, fig. 234 g; also Duruy, *op. cit.* III, p. 725. Of this statue Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 319, remarks: "Left hand and right forearm with *patera* restored. . . . The toga pulled up over the back of the head indicates that he was represented as sacrificing, probably with reference to his position as Pontifex Maximus, and that the restoration of the *patera in the right hand is thus correct.*" Cf. also Reinach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 451, pl. 768 B, No. 1909; I, p. 579, pl. 940 A, No. 2398 B; I, p. 583, pl. 945, No. 2422; II, p. 578, No. 8.

[2] Cf. for this trait the portrait head of Tiberius at Corinth (to be published as the second paper of the present series); also the following works: Statues of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, *e.g.* 1. In Royal Museum, Madrid. Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 563, pl. 916 A, No. 2337 A; Hübner, *op. cit.* No. 78; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 39, No. 63, "*mit abstehenden Ohren.*" 2. In Borghese Museum, Rome. Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 578, No. 8; Nibby, *Mon. Borgh.*, pl. 10; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 32, No. 25; also Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 896. Draped figures in the same pose, *e.g.* 1. In Royal Museum, Turin: "*prêtre voilé*," Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 451, pl. 768 B, No. 1907 A. 2. In Aquileia. Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 579, No. 7; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 154, No. 55; *Leipziger Illus. Zeit.*, Feb. 1884, p. 136.

veil down the left side. The face, front of head, and right ear form a second fragment which was not found until a day or so after the body appeared. The violence with which the statue was thrown down had caused the stone to split neatly along the line of the mica-flaw above mentioned, and had sent the face sliding a meter or two northward amidst the debris. Nevertheless the face shows scarcely a scratch (cf. PLATES VI and VII). The third fragment is a fold of veil which extends between the right shoulder and neck.

When the statue was first brought to light the hair still preserved numerous traces of a flat wash of color a deep red in tone; upon the surface of the eyeballs the painted outline of iris and pupil could also be clearly traced, and the lips were still enlivened with a transparent reddish tinge.[1] It seems probable that, in its original condition, the red pigment of the hair served merely as an under-coating or sizing upon which gilding was applied, a conclusion strengthened by the notice of Suetonius (*Div. Augustus*, 79) to the effect that the hair of Augustus was naturally of a yellowish tinge, *capillum subflavum*.[2] At all events the total effect of the coloring was astoundingly life-like and far from displeasing to the eye; unfortunately, however, the color faded rapidly upon exposure to the air. In general the statue shows but slight traces of atmospheric weathering, and hence must have stood under cover; it is somewhat marked with ground and root stains. The drapery though dignified is rather heavy and is finished with no great care. The rear of the figure is very sum-

[1] Polychromy in Roman sculpture; cf. the following: Boeckler, 'Die Polychromie in der antiken Sculptur', *Jahresbericht der Realschule zu Aschersleben*, 1882. He gives a résumé of the literary sources and supplements it by a description of ancient sculptures showing traces of polychromy, mentioning several works of the Roman period, none of which, however, are portraits. R. Delbrück, *Bildnisse Römischer Kaiser*, p. 4; '*Zum Schluss sei bemerkt dass die Porträts der Kaiserzeit polychrom waren, mit hellen oder dunklen Haaren und Brauen, farbigen Augen, roten Lippen, ähnlich wie auf den Mosaiken, z.b. von Justinian I und Theodora in San Vitale zu Ravenna*, taf. XLIII, XLIV. *Davon sind freilich höchstens Spuren da.*' Cf. also taf. VI, and Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, taf. 34. H. Blümner, *Technische Probleme aus Kunst und Handwerk der Alten*, Berlin 1877, p. 10. He gives a general bibliography on the subject, extending from 1826 to 1872.

[2] Cf. also Boeckler, *op. cit.*, who mentions an archaistic Diana from Herculaneum, now in the Naples Museum, reproduced in color in Walz, *Ueber die Polychromie der antiken Sculptur*, taf. I, No. 1. He says '*Das Haar ist von einer rötlichen Farbe und scheint ursprünglich vergoldet gewesen zu sein.*'

marily treated, simply blocked out without detail of drapery or finish of surface, a fact which indicates that the statue was to be set up against a wall or within a niche and at a level well above the eye of the spectator.[1]

In the matter of technique several points are worthy of notice. First, the drill was used rather freely in working the deeper folds of drapery, and more particularly where undercutting was necessary as, for instance, between the veil and the sides of the neck, and on the crown of the head between the front edge of the hood and the hair just beneath it (PLATES V and VI); in positions of this sort little care was taken to obscure the traces of drilling. On the flesh surfaces, however, the instrument was used much more carefully, yet slight traces are discernible inside the nostrils, at the inner corners of the eyes, inside the ears, and at the corners of the mouth. The flesh surfaces are smoothly worked but unpolished, and upon close examination show clear marks of tooling, both with the fine-point and the fine-tooth chisel. The modelling of the face is firm though somewhat lacking in subtlety of finish, and seems to have been deliberately conventionalized; it lacks entirely that individuality and force of character which appears so strikingly in the Augustus of the Vatican from Prima Porta.[2] The hair across the forehead is freely and thickly worked, yet here also a certain conventionalism is apparent in the treatment of the individual locks which is quite in keeping with the general character of the portrait. The gaze, which is directed slightly downward and to the right, lacks concentration and purpose due largely to the fact that the eyes are not opened to their full extent, but more directly to the flat and impressionistic treatment of the eyeball.[3] The lids are clearly worked and are given considerable relief even at the outer corners. A point worthy of notice is that the eyes are not deep-set as in the majority of portraits of Augustus, and yet, due to the flattening of the eyeballs and to the roll of flesh beneath the brows at the outer corners, an effect of depth

[1] Cf. our Pl. VI. The Augustus of Prima Porta was treated in this same manner, according to Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 27.

[2] Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, taf. 225.

[3] Cf. Pls. VI and VII. This in general is characteristic of the period, although the slight hollowing of the pupils which became common in the time of Hadrian appears also in the Augustan period, *e.g.*, in the Augustus of Prima Porta, cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, taf. I; and in the Berlin Tiberius, cf. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, taf. XLIII; also Brunn und Arndt, *Gr. und röm. Porträts*, taf. 19–20.

is produced without at the same time any great individualization. The brows themselves though straight and well marked are rather generalized in treatment as is also the characteristic Augustan frown between the eyes. The same may be said of the mouth and nose, though the former does not lack a certain delicacy and strength. To my mind the work may be briefly summarized as follows: First, its most striking characteristic is the strict conformity to an apparently well-established type. Second, realism is not attempted or desired,—in fact the portrait is generalized, consciously academic in treatment, and seems clearly the work of a man who had had no opportunity of studying his subject at first hand, in spite of the fact that iconographic details are meticulously represented (*vide infra*). Finally, in marked contradistinction to the majority of contemporary works done at Rome there is here displayed that persistently Greek trait of idealization which presents to us Augustus, not as he was in life, but as the visible embodiment of the benignity and moderation of the Roman rule.

Thus far I have assumed that we had to do with a portrait of Augustus. Although this assumption could scarcely be challenged by anyone familiar with the Augustus type in sculpture it is nevertheless advisable to review briefly the iconographic criteria which prove the attribution.

The Augustan physiognomy, once seen and studied in a portrait such as that from Prima Porta or the bust in Munich,[1] is never forgotten; the features, clear cut, refined, powerful, are indelibly impressed on the memory, and one feels instinctively that here, indeed, was a man worthy to be the founder of the Roman Empire. Though comparatively few of the extant portraits appeal to the observer with the compelling authority of the masterpieces just mentioned, and all show great diversity both in conception and treatment, there are certain outstanding characteristics which may fairly be taken to represent the features of Augustus as they were in the flesh. These are a broad forehead with massive flatly arched skull, brows clear cut, angular, and drawn together in a slight frown between the eyes,[2] nose slightly aquiline, its profile drawn in slightly both above and below the bridge,[3] a nobly and delicately formed mouth, a regularly

[1] Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* pl. 45.

[2] Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 79, . . . "*supercilia coniuncta.*"

[3] Cf. Suetonius, *loc. cit.* "*nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem.*"

modelled, deeply grooved chin coming forward to the perpendicular plane of the lips, thin cheeks, ears slightly projecting,[1] hair abundant and curling [2] and arranged across the forehead and before the ears in gracefully curved locks which, in spite of their rather negligent and apparently fortuitous disposition,[3] nevertheless recur in a scheme which remains practically unchanged throughout the whole series of Augustan portraits. The general expression is serious, somewhat cold, perhaps, but often, when relieved by a gesture or a turn of the head, is imperious and majestic.[4]

A glance at PLATES V, VI, and VII will satisfy the reader that this description is applicable almost word for word to the Corinthian Augustus. Yet two objections may be urged, the first and most important of which is that the nose of the Corinthian head is obviously not aquiline; in fact, when seen in profile (PLATE VII) it appears almost straight, the indentations above and below the bridge being scarcely perceptible. Analogies are to be found for this, however, in several well authenticated portraits.[5] The second objection—of minor importance—is the comparative fullness of the cheeks and the general softening of the lower part of the face, a treatment which while detracting somewhat from the individuality of the portrait is clearly idealistic in purpose. It is this, of course, which explains the classic line of the nose, and here we see carried almost to excess that tendency to soften and idealize which is the most outstanding characteristic of the portrait as a whole. Any lingering doubt as to the authenticity of the work is finally resolved by a study of the arrangement of the hair. As already indicated, this one trait furnishes, perhaps, the most trustworthy criterion of identification throughout the whole series of portraits of Augustus; in fact it often

[1] Cf. Suetonius, *loc. cit.* "*mediocres aures.*"

[2] Cf. Suetonius, *loc. cit.* "*capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum.*"

[3] Cf. Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . "*quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens et in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret.*"

[4] Cf. Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . "*Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus . . . tranquillo serenoque. . . . Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret.*"—The foregoing description is drawn largely from Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 55–56.

[5] *E.g.*, nude statue in Vatican, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 29, No. 13, pl. III; toga-clad statue in Vatican, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 31, No. 18, "*Der Nasenrücken ist von gleichmässiger Breite, im Profil unmerklich gebogen.*"

happens that, in the case of an attribution otherwise extremely doubtful, the appearance of the characteristic Augustan arrangement of the hair across the forehead is sufficient to clinch the argument.[1] In the present instance, though not strictly necessary for the purpose of identification, it may prove of interest to make a few comparisons in this sense with certain other well known portraits of the emperor.

We begin with the Prima Porta Augustus and compare our PLATE V with Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, pl. I. The same full curling locks are at once apparent, and on closer examination it is evident that the scheme of arrangement is identical, the main parting falling to the left of the centre of the forehead which is marked by a heavy lock curving slightly to the right. At the left of the parting two broad, flat locks scarcely separated one from another pass across the brow to the left temple in an almost unbroken line. To the right the arrangement is more varied. Here again are two locks, but freely and distinctly treated, each in high relief and curling sharply back toward the middle of the forehead; the forward-curving masses in front of the ears are in each case identical. It should be noted in passing, however, that, from the point of view of artistic method and conception, the treatment of the hair in the two works is very different; in the Prima Porta head the locks are plastic, crisp, more individual in character, whereas in the Corinthian Augustus the impression is rather that of generalization,—the locks seem heavy, stiff, schematic. In fact the difference is exactly what might be expected between the work of an artist who had, perhaps, seen and studied his subject in person, and that of a sculptor working from a formal model or canon. Other portraits in which appears the characteristic Augustan "*Stirnhaar*" are: 1. A head in the Capitoline Museum,[2] 2. A nude statue in the Vatican,[3] 3. A toga clad statue in the Vatican, Sala a Croce Greca,[4] 4. A bronze head in the Museo Profano of the Vatican,[5] 5. A bust in Munich.[6] This list could be greatly extended if further proof were desired.

The question at once arises as to the explanation of the remarkable fixity and persistence of a feature in itself so palpably for-

[1] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 58.
[2] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 23, No. 2, fig. 1.
[3] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 29, No. 13, pl. III.
[4] Cf. Duruy, *op. cit.* III, p. 725, cut.
[5] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. IV.
[6] Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* pl. 45.

tuitous and ephemeral, a characteristic which appears practically unchanged not only in the portraits of Augustus in his prime, but even in those of his youth and childhood.[1] Up to the present time no attempt has been made to answer this question; in fact it has not been explicitly formulated.[2] It seems quite logical to suppose that a "canon," if such it may be called, was established by an early and authoritative work which doubtless received the official sanction of Augustus himself. This assumption, however, goes but part way. Granted the establishment of a type in Rome shortly after the accession of Augustus to power, how was this spread throughout the length and breadth of the empire, from Gaul and Spain on the west to Greece and Egypt on the east?[3] Obviously not by the exportation from Rome of finished works of sculpture,—a procedure not only improbable in itself but disproved by the clearly local character of the material and workmanship of the great majority of portraits discovered outside the immediate vicinity of Rome. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the type was spread abroad by the official exportation of clay or waxen *imagines*, somewhat like those commonly displayed at funerals,[4] the very purpose of which was to assure iconographic uniformity in whatever province or district an imperial portrait should be set up. The foregoing is too much in the nature of a digression to permit of its being treated at length in the present context. I shall revert to it, however, in my discussion of the remaining portraits of the Corinthian group.

Though not a work of the first order, the Corinthian Augustus claims a high rank among the more idealized portraits of the emperor, the most striking characteristic of which is a subtle quality of agelessness, an impression of youth in maturity combined with Olympian dignity and calm. This is further accentuated by a certain breadth of conception, as well as the softening of the characteristic frown, and the lessened relief of the cheekbones. The greater regularity of the line of the nose is especially noticeable as is also the broader handling of the mouth and chin

[1] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. II.

[2] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 57–58,—"*Sollte der Haarwurf und die Haartracht des Augustus wirklich diesen stabilen Charakter gehabt haben? Oder beruht die Gleichartigkeit vielmehr auf dem Bestreben der alten Künstler, an dem einmal erfundenen Typus auch in diesen scheinbaren Zufälligkeiten festzuhalten?*"

[3] Cf. the bronze head of Augustus from Meroe, published by Garstang and Bosanquet in *Ann. Arch. Anth.* IV, 1911, pp. 45–52, 66–71.

[4] Cf. Dio, LVI, 34, for mention of such an image of Augustus.

and of the surface modelling generally. Although the portraits embodying the idealistic conception of the emperor are fairly numerous, the following appear the more important and afford the closest analogies to the type of the Corinthian Augustus:—

1. The so-called Caligula in the Galleria delle Statue of the Vatican,[1] to be compared particularly with our PLATES V and VII. This shows by far the closest affinities in conception, type of face, and technique to the Corinthian portrait, and the resemblance feature for feature is very striking. Note the same broadly ideal handling of the lower half of the face, particularly the mouth and chin, the full modelling of the cheek and forehead, and the grave and candid expression of the eyes; even the hair, though sparser and less rigid, shows the same stylistic peculiarities, while the characteristic turn of the head—here reversed—produces the same effect of individuality and charm. One might almost suppose that the work were by the same hand,—certainly under the influence of the same school. It is to be noted further that this portrait produces, as does that of Corinth, an impression of maturity and judicial calm in general lacking in the majority of portraits of Augustus, which are characterized rather by youthful concentration and immediacy.

2. A bust in the Glyptothek at Munich.[2] Here the analogy is less striking, since the conception though ideal is more individualized; while the modelling appears very subtle it is also more virile, and the hair is distinctly impressionistic in treatment. The pose of the head is very like.

3. The head in the Chiaramonti Museum, Rome.[3] To be noted particularly is the pose of the head and neck, similar broad handling of the mouth and chin, and general tendency toward idealization.

4. The mail clad portrait in Berlin.[4] This shows close resemblance in pose of head and in profile (cf. our PLATE VII), as well as in the general idealistic conception.

5. A bust in the Louvre.[5] The features are strongly idealized and the work shows close stylistic affinities to the Munich bust (No. 2, above).

[1] Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. III, p. 29, No. 13.
[2] Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* pl. 45; also Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 9.
[3] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 3.
[4] Cf. Berlin *Winckelmann's Programme*, 1868, pl. 1.
[5] Cf. Duruy, *op. cit.* III, p. 686, cut.

6. The bronze head from Meroe.[1] The difference between bronze and marble technique does not permit of exact comparison, and the head is here mentioned only as a remarkable example of the ideal conception of the Augustan features so skillfully embodied in the Corinthian portrait. Compare with our PLATE VI.

7. A bronze head in the Vatican.[2] This also shows ideal treatment. Compare with it PLATE VI.

From the foregoing comparisons it is evident that the Corinthian statue is worthy of a place of honor in the great series of Augustan portrait heads. We have now, however, to consider briefly the figure as a whole.

When once the observer becomes aware of the considerable reduction in the height of the figure occasioned by the loss of feet and legs from mid-shin downwards and makes due allowance for the apparent changes in proportion thereby effected, he realizes that the most outstanding characteristics of the entire figure are its slim and graceful proportions, breadth and squareness of shoulder, and powerful rendering of neck and throat. In fact, were the bodily forms divested of the clinging folds of the toga they would be found to vary little from the slender and athletic canon of Lysippus as interpreted and modified by Pasiteles and Stephanus.[3] Furthermore, the impression of neo-Atticism is much heightened by certain mannerisms in the handling of the drapery,—I refer particularly to the straight schematic folds which depend from the left forearm, the modelling of the tunic across the chest and on the right shoulder, and finally the remarkable way in which the toga clings to the thighs and lower limbs, producing as it were the illusion of transparency despite the obvious weight of the drapery itself. A unique feature is the sharp loop—the so-called *sinus*[4]—formed below the right knee by the uniformly narrow and rather "stringy" fold which falls from behind the right shoulder and passes diagonally upward across the lower part of the body. In the great majority of *statuae togatae* this *sinus* receives a totally different treatment.[5]

[1] Cf. R. Delbrück, *Bildnisse Römischer Kaiser*, pl. V (Berlin, 1914); also *A.J.A.* 1912, p. 114, fig. 1.

[2] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. IV.

[3] Cf. statue of a youth by Stephanus in the Villa Albani, Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* pl. 301; *University Prints*, pl. 321.

[4] Cf. Iwan von Müller, *Hdbk. der Klass. Alt.-Wissensch.*, volume on *Die Röm. Privataltertümer*, by H. Blümner, p. 212 (ed. 1911); cf. also Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, s.v. *toga*.

[5] Cf. the toga clad figures listed in the Appendix.

It is well known that Augustus was singularly attached to the toga as the Roman national dress and that he strove to restore it to its former position of honor in the use of everyday life.[1] Yet of the toga clad statues of Augustus[2] comparatively few are authentic, and of these the majority represent him with head veiled in priestly fashion, a method by which at least the emperor was distinguished from the common run of senatorial and municipal statues; all the extant *togatae* of Augustus in which this veiling is lacking have heads either inset, or foreign to the torso, while on the other hand most if not all of the veiled busts belonged originally to *effigies togatae*.[3]

Our study of the Corinthian Augustus is fittingly concluded by a discussion of the probable date of the work, and in this our conclusions must depend upon internal rather than external evidence, inasmuch as the data furnished by the excavation of the statue are not sufficiently exact for our purpose. For instance, the only certain inference to be drawn from the ruins of the basilica in which the portrait was discovered is that the building was erected not long after 46 B.C. on the foundations of an earlier Greek structure, and that it was destroyed by earthquake in the late Imperial or early Byzantine period. What, then, are the criteria?

The most obvious is the apparent age of Augustus as represented, yet this is somewhat vitiated by the circumstance of the ideal and "ageless" character of the portrait. The emperor appears before us in his prime, or, perhaps, slightly beyond it; but, nevertheless, due to the generalization of the modelling, the ideal fulness and maturity of the forms, it is difficult if not impossible to decide whether he should be placed in the late thirties, the late forties, or even in the fifties. As a matter of fact, however, but two portraits are known in which Augustus is certainly represented as more than fifty years of age,[4]—and in the great majority of cases the sculptor seems to have set the upper limit at forty-five. Beyond this the emperor is ageless and serene as the immortal gods. So far, then, as one can judge from the features

[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 40.

[2] According to Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV, 17, *vid.* Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 2350, portrait statues were classified by the Romans in two main groups, *togatae effigies*, and *statuae Achilleae*.

[3] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 69–70.

[4] Bust in the Vatican, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 30, No. 14, fig. 5: bronze bust in the Louvre, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 37, No. 57, fig. 7.

themselves, the statue may have been set up at any time between *ca.* 25 B.C. and 14 A.D., or, for that matter, even after the death of Augustus.

A more reliable criterion is perhaps seen in the veiling of the head, yet even here there is considerable diversity of opinion among authorities as to the interpretation of this interesting feature. It has been variously connected with the office of Pontifex Maximus,[1] the apotheosis of the emperor, and a form of consecration in which the *genius* of the emperor takes an important part. The first hypothesis seems to be destroyed by the fact that, although Augustus did not assume the pontificate until 12 B.C. when he was fifty-one years old, the features in the case of the majority of his veiled portraits are those of a young man. The theory of the apotheosis also presents difficulties, inasmuch as a clear example of the indication of deification merely by the veiling of the head is not to be found in the period of the Julian emperors; and the deified emperors always wear the rayed crown in addition to the veil.[2] Finally, there seems even less ground for the supposition that the veil was restricted to representations of the *genius* of the emperor. There is no doubt that the motive of the veil, though in no way the usual or only method of representation of the imperial *genius*, was yet here and there applied to it. On the other hand the costume seems to have been the rule for the ordinary *genii familiares*, who also invariably have the cornucopia as attribute. If, therefore, the latter is lacking, we cannot safely conclude that a *genius* is intended.[3]

It seems, then, that we are forced to the conclusion that, in the case at least of Augustus, the veiling of the head refers either to some subordinate priestly office, or that the emperor is represented merely in the general function of a person officiating at a sacrifice. Since, however, the portrait at Corinth represents Augustus as a man of mature years we may at least be permitted the assumption of the date of his entering upon the pontificate, 12 B.C., as a probable *terminus post quem* for the work under discussion. Furthermore, if the rayed crown is to be considered at this period as a mark of deification, the lack of it in the case of a portrait of an emperor known to have been deified ought to indicate

[1] Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clem.* II, p. 292.

[2] Cf. Divus Augustus on the well-known Paris Cameo and the Vienna Onyx.

[3] For a fuller discussion of this entire topic see Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 69–72.

that the work was completed before the death of the personage represented. Thus we have the year of Augustus's death as a probable *terminus ante quem*. It is between these two dates, 12 B.C. and 14 A.D., that I believe the Corinthian portrait should be placed, and between these rather wide limits we shall leave it for the present. I expect, however, from the study of the other members of the group to be able to reduce the margin considerably.[1]

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[1] The following portraits of Augustus may be added to the number of those already listed by Bernoulli:

1. The Corinthian Augustus.

2. A portrait statue found in Rome. (*R. Arch.* XVI, 1910, p. 162, from *Journal des Débats*, June 26, 1910; *A.J.A.* 1911, p. 98; published fully by L. Mariani in *B. Com. Rom.* XXXVIII, 1910, pp. 97–117; 3 pls., 6 figs.)

3. Augustus as Mercury, formerly called Germanicus, statue in Louvre. (J. Six, *R. Arch.*, 5th series, IV, 1916, p. 257; 2 figs.; *A.J.A.* 1917, p. 461.)

4. Marble head in the Boston Museum. (*B. Mus. F. A.* V, 1907, pp. 1–3; figs. 1–4; *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, p. 369. This is the head from the Despuig collection; idealistic type.)

5. Marble head in the Boston Museum. (S. N. Deane, *Thirty-first Annual Report* of B. Mus. F. A. 1906, pp. 55–61; *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, p. 369, fig. 9.)

6. Colossal bronze head discovered at Meroe, now in British Museum. (*Ann. Arch. Anth.* IV, 1911, Garstang, pp. 45–52, and Bosanquet, pp. 66–71; 5 plates; Ippel, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, pp. 361–363; cf. also Delbrück, *Bildnisse Röm. Kaiser*, taf. V.)

7. Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, relief from Ara Pacis. (Studniczka, *Abh. Sächs. Ges.* XXVII (No. 26), 1909, pp. 899–944; 7 pls.; 5 figs.)

8. Roman relief with two figures, one apparently of Augustus, in the Museum of University of Pennsylvania. (Paper read by Professor Bates before the Archaeological Institute of America, December 1911, *A.J.A.* 1912, p. 101.)

As to the material and scale of the portraits of Augustus (cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 76–78). There may now be added to Bernoulli's list five more in marble, two reliefs, and one in bronze. The Corinthian portrait conforms to the great majority of the extant portraits of Augustus in scale, since it is rather more than life size.

Appendix

List of references to statues of type similar to the Corinthian Augustus, with short discussion of the more important.

Draped Statues of Augustus:

1. In Louvre. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 137, pl. 271, No. 2327; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 36, No. 51.

Same general pose, head unveiled, weight on right leg. Bernoulli says "*Der Kopf ist aufgesetzt und der Statue fremd.*"

2. In Louvre. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 139, pl. 275, No. 2332; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 36, No. 53; Duruy, *op. cit.* IV, p. 90, cut.

Same general pose, head unveiled, weight on right leg, drapery differently treated and more voluminous. Bernoulli says "*Erst hier wurde ihm an Stelle des nicht passenden Kopfes ein Augustuskopf aufgesetzt.*"

3. In Florence, Galleria dei Uffizi. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 561, pl. 914, No. 2333; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 34, No. 40; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw.* III, No. 40.

Weight on left leg, face to left, head unveiled, toga draped over right shoulder and arm. (This cut must have been reversed in process of reproduction, since the toga is never thus worn.) Bernoulli says "*Der Kopf aufgesetzt, aber wohl antik.*"

4. In Madrid, Royal Museum. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 563, pl. 916 A, No. 2337 A; Hübner, *Ant. Bildw. zu Madrid*, No. 78; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 39, No. 63.

Weight on right leg, face to right and head veiled, toga draped over left shoulder and horizontal left forearm, drapery more fully treated; veil passes just behind ears causing them to project. Bernoulli says "*Der Kopf aufgesetzt, aber zugehörig . . . mit abstehenden Ohren . . . Augustus als junger Mann.*"

5. In Rome, Vatican. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 565, pl. 920, No. 2337; Helbig, *Führer*, No. 319; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 31, No. 18; Duruy, *op. cit.* III, p. 725, cut; Overbeck, *Gesch. der Gr. Plastik*, II, fig. 234 g.

Weight on right leg, the left slightly to rear, face to right, head veiled, right forearm extended holding *patera*; the drapery, and pose of body and head are remarkably like.

6. In Rome, Vatican, Sala Rotunda. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 565, pl. 920, No. 2338; Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 310; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 31, No. 16; Alinari photograph, No. 6580; Duruy, *op. cit.* III, p. 771, cut.

The so-called "Genius of Augustus." In pose almost identical with No. 5 above; *patera* in right hand and cornucopia on left arm, drapery is voluminous. Bernoulli says "*In dem Händen Schale und Füllhorn, die erstere neu.*" Helbig adds that the work is correctly restored.

7. In Cataio. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 35, No. 46; Dütschke, *op. cit.* V, No. 760.

Bernoulli says "Toga-statue, with back of head veiled, in the hands a gilded *patera* and a large gilded *lituus* (both restored). The head appears to me modern, and not Augustus, though Dütschke takes it for antique."

8. In Borghese Mus., Rome. Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 578, No. 8; Nibby, *Mon. Borgh.* 10; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 32, No. 25; Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 896.

Weight on left leg, ears pushed forward by veil, *patera* in right hand, drapery

and pose of arms and head almost identical. Helbig says "*Der Kopf aufgesetzt, aber antik und zugehörig.*"

Draped figures in the pose of Augustus:

1. In Royal Museum, Turin. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 451, pl. 768 B, No. 1907 A.

"*Prêtre voilé*"; weight on right leg, the left to rear, face to front. Veil conceals left ear but pushes the right forward; general scheme of drapery and *sinus* much the same.

2. In Royal Museum, Turin. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 451, pl. 768 B, No. 1908.

"*Prêtre voilé*"; weight on left leg, face a bit to right, drapery very similar to the above but more voluminous.

3. In Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 451, pl. 768 B, No. 1909. Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 329; Friedrichs-Walters, *Gipsabg. zu Berlin*, No. 1677; Alinari photograph, No. 6642; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 169.

"*Prêtre voilé*"; weight on right leg, face slightly to right, *patera* in extended right hand, and the pose almost identical; drapery and veil are much fuller and very differently treated.

4. In Naples Museum. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 552, pl. 900 C, No. 2284 D.

"*Statue municipale*"; weight on left leg, face to right, right arm extended forward at elbow; drapery almost identical save that the *sinus* is above knee and not so sharp.

5. In Mattei Collection, Rome. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 558, pl. 910, No. 2318 C; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* I, p. 157, No. 17; Weisser, *Bilder-Atlas*, taf. 39, 9; Duruy, *op. cit.* III, p. 228, cut.

Caesar; weight on left leg, face to right, right arm extended, drapery much the same but lacks the sharp *sinus* below the knee.

6. In Mattei Collection, Rome. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 579, pl. 940 A, No. 2398 B; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 394; *Mon. Matth.* I, 83.

Head and veil modern. Weight on right leg, *patera* in right hand, drapery rather similar, with a heavy *sinus* just below the knee.

7. In Capitoline Museum, Rome. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 583, pl. 945, No. 2422; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* III, p. 108, No. 2; Bottari, III, 55; Righetti, I, 116.

Hadrian. Weight on left leg, head veiled and ears concealed, extended right forearm with *patera*.

8. Coke Collection, England. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 589, pl. 957, No. 2459 A; Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gt. Brit.*, Holkh. 31; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* III, p. 207, No. 11.

Pose and drapery very similar, but *sinus* is rounder and falls above the knee; drapery more ample.

9. In Aquileia. Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 579, No. 7; *Leipzig. Illus. Zeitung*, Feb. 1884, p. 136; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 154, No. 55.

Tiberius. Weight apparently on right leg, drapery and pose of arms very like, head veiled and ears pushed forward.

A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

PART II

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Reprinted from the American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series,
Vol. XXV (1921), No. 3

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A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

II. Tiberius

[Plates VIII–IX]

The veiled portrait head which is now to be considered was found lying face downward in a stratum of soft reddish earth just within the east wall of the Roman basilica before mentioned.[1] As was the case with the other sculptures discovered in this region, the statue to which the head originally belonged, seems to have stood on an upper floor of the basilica, and was overthrown and shattered in the general ruin incident to the earthquake which destroyed the building. As far as I could determine, no other certain fragments of this work were recovered, although there were brought to light several bits that may well have belonged to it, *e.g.*, a fragment of well worked marble drapery which was found close beside the head, two small pieces of a leg or arm showing traces of dowelling, and two bits of carefully worked marble fingers less than twice life size. The layer of soft earth in which the head was imbedded and to which it doubtless owed its almost perfect preservation was made up apparently of decayed vegetable matter, perhaps the remains of the shattered planks and beams of the floor above, the gradual decay and settling of which had carried the head to the lower level unharmed. When found it was at a depth of between three and four meters.

The head is of an exceedingly fine grained Pentelic marble, white, with little or no signs of weathering, and is preserved from the base of the neck to the top of the veil (cf. Plate VIII); the break at the neck is diagonal, sloping sharply upward from front to back and extending to the folds of the veil below the ears; the rim of the right ear is also chipped, and a considerable portion of the edge of the veil above is missing. The face itself is perfectly

[1] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 142 f.

Portrait of Tiberius: Corinth.

Profile of Tiberius: Corinth.

preserved; scarcely a scratch can be detected on its surface. In scale the work conforms closely to the Augustus,[1] *i.e.*, it is about one half larger than nature, its total height as it stands being .35 to .40 m.,[2] and judging from the circumstance of the veiling we may conclude that it belonged to a statue of similar type. The head is turned a bit to the right and inclined slightly backward and upward in the same direction, while the neck, due perhaps to the breaking away of the veil which shadowed it, appears rather thick and awkward in proportion to the size of the face. The most striking characteristics of the portrait as a whole are the very subtle modelling of the flesh surfaces, the light curly beard of remarkably fine impressionistic modelling upon the line of the jaw (cf. PLATE IX), the free and plastic rendering of the hair, and the three-fold edging of the veil with its curiously flattened loop at the top. As in the Augustus, the back of the head and veil is crudely rounded off, showing that the statue was made to stand in a niche, or against the wall; and as in the former work, so here too, we note the grotesque forward position of the ears, a trait found to be characteristic of this type of representation.[3]

Before passing on to the iconography of the portrait there are a few details of technique which demand attention. First, the eyes are fairly wide, with a distinct upward cast and a rather dreamy expression (cf. PLATE VIII); both the upper and lower lids are in clear relief, while the former overlap markedly at the outer corners. Though prominent, the eyes are not set forward in their sockets, and the eyeballs are treated in the flat and impressionistic manner already noted in the Augustus; an unusual detail appears at the inner corners, however, in the form of a membranous tissue inside the lids.[4] No trace of paint or incision is observable on the surface of the eyeball. The brows are strongly arched and marked by a sharp ridge for the greater part of their length, and considerable modelling appears about the eyes themselves, par-

[1] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 144.

[2] Further dimensions: length of face .18 m.; length of neck .07 m.; width of face .14 m.; width of mouth .053 m.

[3] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 146.

[4] Cf. Pl. VIII. A similar feature is found in a portrait head of Tiberius in Berlin, cf. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. XLIII and text, also Brunn and Arndt, *Gr. und Röm. Porträts*, Nos. 19 and 20. According to Furtwängler this portrait is not of Tiberius, but rather Augustus or Claudius; that it is of Pentelic marble, from Athens, and dates probably in the second century A.D. I feel certain, however, that it is an idealized Tiberius.

ticularly in the indication of the bony socket and in the roll of flesh which overhangs the outer portions of the upper lid. The handling of the flesh surfaces is masterly,—the modelling far superior in its delicate play of light and shade to that of any other member of the group, and the treatment of the hair with its thick curling locks shows remarkable freedom and life in spite of the fact that here again a fixed and definite iconographic scheme is followed. As also in the Augustus the drill was freely used, care being taken to disguise its effects wherever possible; the characteristic boring appears, however, at the corners of the mouth and along the line of the slightly parted lips, within the nostrils, about the ears, and in the deeply undercut folds of the veil. Surfaces are smoothly worked but unpolished, and on close examination reveal clear marks of tooling both with the fine point and the fine tooth chisel.

In its general finish and artistic completeness the work is much superior to the head of Augustus; it possesses, moreover, a distinct and striking personality, not altogether pleasing perhaps, yet far removed from the ideal, almost abstract rendering of the Augustan features. This unpleasant expression, though difficult of analysis, seems to reside in the rather weak and oversubtle line of the mouth, although the slightly oblique cast of the eyes serves also to heighten the impression. And yet the portrait, despite its marked individuality of conception and subtlety of modelling, partakes somewhat of the calm monumentality of the Augustus; in fact each portrait bears clearly the impress of a common atelier, but the hand which moulded the Augustus was far inferior both in technical skill and in penetrative and interpretative power to that which created the portrait before us.

As yet no assumption has been made as to the identity of the portrait under discussion. It is certain, however, that we have here to do with a likeness of Tiberius in his earlier years, not much later, at any rate, than his exile to Rhodes. Although this attribution may at first sight appear unconvincing, a close study of the available evidence will demonstrate that the conclusion is well founded.

The features of Tiberius are well known to us through contemporary portraits and descriptions; hence, having made due allowance for the usual diversity in conception and treatment, we may summarize as follows the characteristic traits of the Tiberian physiognomy. In profile the line of the forehead appears nearly

perpendicular save towards the top where it bulges slightly; the nose is vigorous, strongly arched and irregular, and generally rather pointed, the mouth small and receding, and the chin rounded and prominent.[1] The hair is sometimes smooth, sometimes curly, and fringes the forehead in a rather angular profile; according to the description of Suetonius it grew low upon the nape of the neck,[2] a trait not particularly stressed in the portraits, although the hair is generally represented as brought forward at the sides of the neck beneath the ears. His face was frank and open,[3] his eyes large,[4] and he walked with neck stiff and held at an oblique angle, his head and face drawn back.[5] This characteristic position of the head is generally rendered in the portraits, though for the most part softened to a slight inclination to the right or left. Of the less apparent traits, which are, however, none the less significant for iconographic purposes, I would mention particularly the distinct upward cast of the eyes and the well marked roll of flesh which stands above the lid at the outer corner;[6] also the arching of the brows as they spring outward from the nose, a trait more characteristic of the youthful portraits;[7] the shortness of the upper lip as compared with the lower,[8] and the slight upward slant from left to right of the line of the hair as it passes across the forehead.[9] A more subtle characteristic and one most difficult to distinguish in photographs is the very light line or furrow which extends downward on each side from the corner of the mouth, serving as it were to enclose the chin and give it added prominence; this trait naturally appears more clearly in those works which depict Tiberius as advanced in

[1] Cf. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pl. XXXII, Nos. 17–20.

[2] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 68 . . . *capillo pone occipitium summissiore ut cervicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo videbatur.*

[3] Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . *facie honesta.*

[4] Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . *cum praegrandibus oculis.*

[5] Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . *Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu.*

[6] Cf., among many others, the seated statue and the colossal head in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *Die Sculp. des Vat. Mus.*, Tafelband I, taf. 60; also a bust in the Louvre, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. VII.

[7] Cf. the works cited, and a head in the Capitoline Museum, Anderson Photographs, No. 1632.

[8] Cf. the works cited.

[9] Cf. the head in the Capitoline Museum, Anderson Photographs, No. 1632; a colossal head and seated statue in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60; and the head in the Louvre, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. VII, etc.

years,[1] yet it is generally present in the youthful portraits as well.[2] Finally, there remain to be noted particularly the breadth of forehead and temples, the tapering oval of the face, and the persistently similar arrangement of the locks of hair which frame in the upper part of the face. From the purely iconographic point of view the last mentioned, as also in the case of Augustus, is of prime importance; it appears in its most typical form in the following works: the seated statue in the Museo Chiaramonti;[3] a standing draped figure of bronze, in the Naples museum;[4] and a head in Berlin.[5]

Keeping in view the various portraits just mentioned, let us enumerate point by point the characteristic features of the Corinthian head and compare them with the canon as established.

In the first place, then, it is evident that there is considerable divergence in profile (cf. PLATE IX). The forehead is not perpendicular but slopes backward somewhat,—although it should be noted in this connection that our photograph, because of the five-eighths pose of the head, exaggerates unduly this peculiarity; seen in true profile it is much less apparent. As to the bulge at the top, we may assume that it is present, concealed beneath the unusually luxuriant and projecting mass of hair. The nose, too, is less prominent and pointed, and is made to conform more closely to the ideal of classic regularity; we note, however, the characteristic indentation at the bridge as well as the abrupt break in the line of the nose itself. The mouth and chin are much nearer to the general type, particularly as regards the delicate curve of the former, the short upper lip, and the well rounded chin. The profile has, of course, been idealized considerably, yet without in any way altering its essential character; in fact there are extant other well authenticated portraits in which this process of idealization has been carried to even greater lengths.[6]

[1] *E.g.* a head in the Capitoline Museum, Room of Caesars, No. 4, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 144, No. 1, Anderson Photographs, No. 1631.

[2] Cf. the seated statue in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60,—seated statue, *ibid.* taf. 67; a gem in Florence, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. XXVII, No. 8.

[3] Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 67.

[4] *Bronzi di Ercolaneo*, II, 79, and *Museo Borbonico*, VII, 43.

[5] Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22.

[6] Cf., for example, the colossal head in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 right.

In full face the forehead seems less broad and the diameter of the head at the temples is apparently diminished, yet this same unusual characteristic is to be marked, for example, in the well known bust in the Louvre.[1] It is in the treatment of the eyes and brows, however, that there are to be noted some of the most striking points of resemblance; the eyes are large, they possess to a marked degree the distinctive upward cast[2] which is so characteristic of the more youthful portraits of Tiberius, they show the peculiar roll of flesh beneath the brow at the outer corner, and the brows themselves are arched in true Tiberian manner.[3] Furthermore, the lower half of the face, though not so tapering as is sometimes represented, yet furnishes remarkably close conformation to type particularly in the comparative brevity of the upper lip, the delicate, rather sunken curve of the mouth, the prominence of the chin, and the slight perpendicular lines which extend downward from the corners of the mouth.[4] We note, too, the peculiarity mentioned by Suetonius, the stiff neck and the slight inclination of the head observable in the great majority of portraits.

If further confirmation be required it is amply provided by the iconographic scheme in which the locks of hair across the forehead are fixed. Although varied somewhat in different portraits, the same general division and arrangement of the strands holds good throughout, the few exceptions serving rather to prove the rule than to invalidate it. The central parting is either in the middle of the forehead[5] or very slightly to the left;[6] from this the hair divides in two masses curving right and left respectively, each subdivided into two, sometimes three or more smaller locks;[7] at the temples or, more exactly, above the outer corner of each eye, a group of two or three graceful locks curves sharply inward em-

[1] Cf. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pl. 177.

[2] Cf. a head in the Capitoline Museum, and another at Copenhagen, A. Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 178 a and b; also the bust in the Louvre, Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 177, and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. VII.

[3] Cf. seated statues in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 and 67; also bust in Louvre, Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 177.

[4] For these features cf. our pl. VIII with Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 178 a, pl. 177, and with Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 both portraits.

[5] Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 176 b.

[6] Cf. our Pl. VIII with Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 centre; also with Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22; and Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, pl. XLIII.

[7] Cf. our Pl. VIII with Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 176 b and pl. 177; also Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22.

bracing the outer tips of the central mass,[1] while below at the temples and before the ears the hair is brushed forward in a free and unconventional manner.[2] Finally, it is only necessary to note the upward slant from left to right of the hair across the forehead, a detail which is peculiarly distinctive of the Tiberian iconography,[3] and to observe that in the Corinthian portrait the hair is represented as growing unusually low upon the neck (cf. PLATE IX).

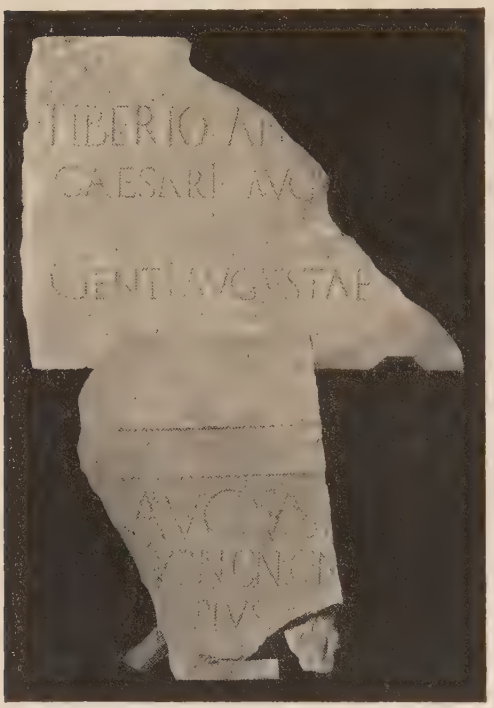

FIGURE 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH.

But the final and conclusive proof of the attribution is provided by an inscription (Fig. 1, upper stone) found within the southwest corner of the basilica at about the same level and in the same sort of debris as that in which the head itself was discovered. The inscription, of beautiful monumental character, is engraved upon a polished slab of fine Pentelic marble,[4] three edges of which are original and show cuttings for the supporting clamps. Although the second word of the first line is extremely puzzling—not only to

[1] Cf. our Pl. VIII with Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 176 b and 177; Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60; or better Anderson Photographs, No. 1453; and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22.

[2] Cf. Pls. VIII and IX with the works last quoted.

[3] Cf. our Pl. VIII with Amelung, *op. cit*, I, taf. 60 centre; or Anderson Photographs No. 1453; also Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 178 a and b; Nibby, *Monumenti Scelti d. Villa Borghese*, pl. 26; Bust in Naples Museum, *Museo Borbonico*, XIII, 42, 1; Statue in Naples Museum, *Bronzi di Ercolaneo*, II, 97, etc., etc.

[4] Measuring .60 m.×.45 m.×.065 m.

restore conjecturally, but also because it interrupts the regular sequence of praenomen and nomen,—it is sufficiently clear from the context that we have here a dedicatory inscription to TIBERIUS CAESAR and the GENS AUGUSTA.

In spite, therefore, of the remarkable regularity of profile and the finely idealized modelling of the Corinthian head, it is certain that in it we are to recognize the features of Tiberius treated with a breadth, subtlety of characterization, and fineness of execution which put the work in a class quite by itself.

The portrait is of such an unusual and distinctive character that it is a matter of no little difficulty to discover analogous works with which it may be compared and classified; it is obviously youthful and thoroughly idealized, retaining withal an individuality and power which is entirely lacking, for example, in the Corinthian Augustus. Furthermore, although the great majority of the Tiberian portraits are remarkable for their youthfulness, most of the extant heads show, with no softening whatever, the line of his quite other than "classic" profile;[1] few also can compare with the Corinthian portrait as a work of art or even as a work of portraiture, at least in the higher sense of the term, —in the sense, I mean, of the power to show forth under a more or less idealized aspect the essential personality of the subject rather than to give a photographic reproduction of his features. Indeed, of the eighty-odd portraits of this emperor listed by Bernoulli, only two—the bust in Munich and the Florentine cameo—are described by him as "*idealisiert*," although there are several others in which this tendency is observable to a considerable degree. Of the material available, therefore, the following works appear the more important and afford the closest analogies to the portrait at Corinth:

1. Bust in the Glyptothek, Munich, No. 314.[2] Tiberius is represented in early manhood, greatly idealized, with broad forehead which lacks the usual sharp break and indentation at the bridge of the nose; the mouth does not show the characteristic "sunken expression," and hence in this respect is very like the Corinthian portrait. Furthermore, the hair across the forehead is similarly treated in freely curling masses.

[1] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 162.

[2] Cf. Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, III, 217, 3; Furtwängler, *Besch. der Glyp. König Ludwig I zu München*, Munich, 1900, No. 314, p. 322; and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 153, No. 54.

2. The Florentine cameo, with heads of Tiberius and Livia in profile.[1] This portrait is remarkable as exhibiting the same tendency toward the youthfully idealistic conception of the Tiberian features. Our portrait, however, carries this tendency one step farther in the softening, without loss of character, of the sunken appearance of the mouth.

3. Head in Berlin.[2] Although a "doubtful Tiberius," this head shows considerable stylistic affinity to the Corinthian portrait not only in its pose and type of face, but also in the modelling of the flesh surfaces, and in the generally idealistic conception. In addition, it produces a marked impression of personality behind the ideal, a peculiarity also of the Tiberius at Corinth.

4. Colossal statue in the Naples museum.[3] This can scarcely be called a portrait, since in it the idealization of the features is carried beyond all bounds; we see here, however, a different manifestation of the same tendency so apparent in the work at Corinth.

Mention has already been made of the comparative youthfulness of the Corinthian Tiberius, a trait which it has in common with the majority of extant portraits of this emperor. It is very difficult to account for this peculiarity, the more so since we must naturally suppose that by far the greater number of his portraits were set up during the period of his own reign, *i.e.*, between his fifty-sixth and seventy-ninth year. We found the same true more or less in the case of Augustus also, although for him the explanation was quite simple, inasmuch as he ascended the throne at the age of thirty-two and became as it were the type of the ideally youthful emperor. This theory will not suffice in the case of Tiberius since it is not likely that he was frequently honored with statues after his death, and, moreover, his youthfulness is seldom represented with noticeable idealization; as has been already noted, most of his extant portraits show an irregular profile quite unmodified in the sense of the so-called "classic ideal." Moreover, mere idealization would not demand that he be uniformly represented as a youth of twenty years.

This persistent youthfulness, then, is something of a riddle which can be but partially accounted for by the military fame to which Tiberius attained at a very early age. In this connection it will be remembered that, at the age of twenty-two, he was

[1] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. XXVII, 8.

[2] Cf. Furtwängler, "*Die Sammlung Sabouroff*," pl. XLIII.

[3] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 149, No. 22.

sent to the East at the head of an army to put Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. This mission he not only accomplished satisfactorily, but—what loomed more grandly in the eyes of the average Roman and provincial—he also recovered from the Parthians the lost standards of Crassus. Five years later, in 15 B.C., he led a successful expedition against the Alpine tribes, and three years after that he conducted a brilliant campaign against the Pannonians for which he was rewarded with a triumph. Since he thereby established, as it were, his prospects for the succession to the throne, there can be no doubt that his victories were celebrated by the erection of many statues in his honor. In all probability, therefore, it was at this time that the prevailing youthful type of Tiberian portrait was established; and once this were accomplished the tendency toward alteration would be slight, the more so since the portrait sculptors and gem engravers seldom worked from a living model, and Tiberius himself as he advanced in years would doubtless prefer to keep his more youthful portraits before the people. Even after he came to the throne the younger type of representation must have lingered persistently, since in the great majority of his portraits he is shown as considerably younger than he was when he actually ruled.[1]

It is quite evident that the figure to which our portrait belonged must have been of the same general type as the Augustus of Corinth, must indeed have served it as a "companion piece" in the great imperial group of which each seems to have formed a part. The veiling of the head proves conclusively not only that the statue represented a *togatus*, but also that the pose and gesture were those of a person conducting a sacrifice according to the *ritus Romanus*, an essential observance of which was the *velatum caput*.[2] As far as it is possible to judge from the position of the head, direction of the gaze, etc., the pose was very like that of the Augustus,[3] although I consider it probable that, with regard to symmetry of grouping and composition, the weight of the figure may well have been shifted to the left leg. In fact the scale, type, technique and general treatment of the two portraits are so nearly identical that we may safely conclude not only that they were erected at about the same time, but also that they formed

[1] For a fuller discussion see Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 161 f.
[2] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 145 f.
[3] Cf. the Augustus, Pl. V, with Pl. VIII of the present article.

in all probability component parts of a larger whole. The bodily forms, proportion, treatment of drapery, etc., must also in the case of the Tiberius have conformed closely to those exhibited by the Augustan figure; we see for example the same powerful rendering of the neck and throat, the same "stringy" quality of the drapery,[1] and much the same treatment of the hair. It follows, therefore, that in this work we have another example of the neo-Attic school in Greece.

A further point worthy of note is that toga-clad statues of Tiberius, particularly those *velato capite*, are very rare. Bernoulli lists but one, the veiled statue in the museum of Aquileia; he mentions, however, three *statuae togatae* upon which have been set portrait heads of Tiberius not originally belonging to them, and of these one only has the head veiled.[2] To this list I would add a bronze portrait statue from Herculaneum now in the Naples museum, a work which discloses some interesting analogies to the Corinthian portrait both in iconography and in the treatment of the veil.[3]

Before terminating our discussion of the Tiberius at Corinth there remains to be considered the troublesome question of date; and here, also, as in dealing with the portrait of Augustus, our conclusions must be drawn entirely from internal evidence inasmuch as no exact data were furnished by the circumstances of the discovery itself.

We have already seen that the apparent age of Tiberius as represented is practically worthless as a criterion of date, since the great majority of his portraits, even those erected in the last year of his reign, are chiefly remarkable for their youthful character. The only conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that this portrait was in all probability not erected before 20 B.C., the year in which Tiberius first attained to military distinction, being then at the age of twenty-two. A scarcely more reliable criterion is that furnished by the veiling of the head, a practice which, as already observed in the case of Augustus, is open to various interpretations;[4] as regards Tiberius, however, the range of conjecture

[1] Cf. the Augustus, Pl. V, with Pl. IX of the present article.

[2] Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 163.

[3] Cf. *Guida del Museo Naz. di Napoli*, p. 198, No. 793; also *Bronzi di Ercolaneo*, II, 79; *Museo Borbonico*, VII, 43, etc. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 172, No. 16, classes the portrait under "Unbekannte Claudier," although he says "*Er hat im Schädelbau und Untergesicht, zum Teil auch im Profil, grosse Aehnlichkeit mit Tiberius.*"

[4] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 156.

is reduced somewhat by the fact that, in his case at least, the veiling could not be taken as an indication of deification, since it is extremely doubtful whether Tiberius was ever honored in this manner.[1] Furthermore, the theory which connects the veiling with a form of consecration in which the *genius* of the emperor takes an important part is vitiated by the fact that no statues of the *genius* type are known in the case of Tiberius, none certainly in which are to be discovered traces of a cornucopia as attribute.[2] Of the two possible remaining interpretations, that of the veil as a badge of the pontificate is, to say the least, doubtful. Nevertheless, I consider it worth while to review briefly the evidence bearing on the question, notwithstanding the fact that from our study of the Augustus we are already predisposed to discredit the theory.

From the entire list of the portraits of Tiberius which are known to me, four heads only are veiled: viz., the toga-clad statue in Aquileia;[3] the head set upon a foreign toga-clad statue in Margam;[4] a bronze toga-clad statue in the Naples museum;[5] and the head at Corinth. Of these, the heads in Margam and Corinth are youthful, that of the statue in Naples is considerably older, while the apparent age of the portrait in Aquileia is unknown to me. We may, perhaps, assume that the last mentioned belongs to the majority, and is also youthful. How, then, do these apparent ages check up with the date of the assumption of the pontificate by Tiberius? At first sight rather unsatisfactorily, since Tiberius became Pontifex Maximus on March 10, 15 A.D., at the age of fifty-seven.[6] We have, however, a bit of evidence which would seem to indicate also a much earlier date; I refer to an inscription in Rome, published by Orelli, in which Tiberius is named Pontifex as of the year A.U.C. 747, *i.e.*, 6 B.C.[7] If both these dates be accepted it is evident that, in the case of Tiberius,

[1] But cf. Pauly, *Real-Encyc.*, *s.v.* Tiberius: *In späterer Zeit erhielt auch er göttliche Verehrung; wenigstens kennen wir zwei flamines Ti. Caesaris Augusti, nämlich C. Egnatius Maro* (Orelli, *Inscr.* No. 2217) *und L. Cornelius L. f. Men., flamen Romae Ti. auf einer Inschrift aus Surrentum bei Garrucci, Mon. Baeb.*, p. 32."

[2] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 156.

[3] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 154, No. 55.

[4] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 153, No. 50.

[5] Cf. *Bronzi di Ercolaneo*, II, 79.

[6] Cf. Cohen, *Méd. Imp. Rom.* I, p. 119, No. 1; p. 121, No. 25; etc.; also Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 125.

[7] Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* I, No. 599.

we at least have nothing to prove that the veil *does not* indicate the pontificate, since the apparent ages of the veiled portraits mentioned correspond fairly closely to the two dates at which Tiberius is known to have occupied this office. Thus the bronze in Naples would date *ca.* 15–16 A.D., the head in Margam, the statue in Aquileia (?), and the head in Corinth *ca.* 6–5 B.C.

Although the above argument is admittedly weak, it will serve to justify, at least provisionally, the assumption of *ca.* 6 B.C. as a *terminus post quem* for the Corinthian Tiberius. But the possibilities of arriving at a more definite conclusion in this matter are not yet entirely exhausted. We have still to investigate the interesting detail of the appearance of the beard in the Corinthian portrait, particularly with reference to a possible indication of date to be derived therefrom.

It is well known that the beard was not generally worn by Romans of the late Republic and the early Empire, the custom of going clean shaven holding sway from the late Hellenistic period to the reign of Hadrian. But apparently throughout this period the beard was worn in modified form by certain classes of men and under certain definite circumstances, since it appears occasionally on portrait statues and even more frequently on coins, gems, etc. We know that the Romans early borrowed from the Greeks the custom of consecrating to the gods the first beard of youth, a ceremony which was observed at about the twentieth year.[1] Thereafter the youth again allowed his beard to grow, and cultivated carefully not the entire beard, but the so-called *barbula*, which was merely a tuft of hair before the ears and along the line of the jaw. This seems to have been worn in more or less modified form until about the fortieth year, after which a man regularly went clean shaven. If a beard were worn thereafter it would be for some definite reason, unless, of course, it were allowed to grow through mere negligence, as was sometimes the case; in general, however, the beard at this time was considered the outward and visible sign of great affliction, motivated either by mourning for the death of a near relative, by a conviction at law, by the necessity of defending oneself against a public accusation, or by some great calamity. Thus, for example, Caesar, after

[1] But cf. Dio, XLVIII, 34. In recording events of 39 B.C., when Octavian was twenty-four years of age, he says of him "ἀμέλει τὸν πώγωνα ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε πρῶτον ξυράμενος αὐτός τε μεγάλως ἐώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι δημοτελῆ ἑορτὴν παρέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπελειοῦτο τὸ γένειον . . ." etc.

the defeat of his legate Titurius in Gaul, allowed his hair and beard to grow,[1] as did Cato after the battle of Thapsus, Marc Antony after the battle of Mutina, Octavius after his rupture with Sextus Pompeius, and later after the defeat of Varus.[2] We know further that on certain coins and engraved gems aged emperors are represented as youthful and wearing the *barbula*, although the individual portraits are proved to have been made after the death of the person represented. A remarkable example of this is seen on a coin of Julius Caesar,[3] struck sometime after his death; although Caesar is regularly represented as beardless in all his other portraits, he here appears with the *barbula*. There is but one possible explanation for this, viz., that it symbolizes his apotheosis as proclaimed by the Senate, and it thus becomes, as it were, the sign of the eternal youth assumed by the departed. Many other examples of the same sort might be cited.[4]

It seems, then, that the beard worn by the Tiberius of Corinth is open to explanation on several different counts,[5] all but one of which must be eliminated if accuracy of dating is to be obtained.

First of all, we may reject the hypothesis that the beard is in this instance to be interpreted as an indication of apotheosis, inasmuch as we have already seen that Tiberius was apparently not thus honored—certainly not until a considerably later date.[6] We may likewise discard the theory that Tiberius is here repre-

[1] Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 67; "*Diligebat quoque usque adeo, ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summiserit, nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset.*

[2] Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 23; "*Adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret.*"

[3] Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, fig. 788.

[4] Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, *s.v. Barba*, for the whole subject.

[5] Possible interpretations of beard:

1. Sign of apotheosis.
2. Worn through mere negligence.
3. Worn as indication of youthfulness, either
   a. Before first consecration of beard at *ca.* 20 yrs.; for Tiberius, 22 B.C.
   b. As *barbula*, from 20 to *ca.* 40 yrs.;—for Tiberius, 22–2 B.C.
4. Worn as a sign of affliction, because of
   a. Conviction at law.
   b. Necessity of acting as defendant in a trial.
   c. Great public calamity.
   d. Death of a near relative.

[6] Cf. p. 259, and note No. 1.

sented with a beard worn through mere neglect of his personal appearance since, quite aside from the fact that no statement of such negligence on his part is made by any of the numerous ancient writers who mention him,[1] it is highly improbable that a characteristic of this sort would be perpetuated in a work of art so obviously idealized as is the head at Corinth. That the beard is here shown as a mere indication or attribute of blooming youth is an assumption more difficult of contravention, particularly in view of the fact that the portrait is so obviously youthful. Nevertheless, it seems to me that, although not actually capable of being disproved, this theory may be considerably weakened. We have already observed that, taken as a whole, the series of extant portraits of Tiberius is remarkable for its generally youthful character; if, then, the beard really served at this period as an attribute of youthfulness in imperial portraiture, we might reasonably expect to find it represented with some frequency in the Tiberian series. As a matter of fact, however, the head at Corinth is, to the best of my knowledge, the only sculptured portrait of Tiberius in which this feature occurs. Bernoulli[2] mentions an onyx on which is represented a mail-clad bust facing to the right, "*mit leicht sprossenden Lippen- und Kinnbart*"—a very doubtful portrait of Tiberius, as Bernoulli himself is free to admit; from which circumstance we are justified, it seems to me, in excluding it from the argument. Furthermore, bearded portraits of this emperor are a rarity even on coins, and few, if any of this type, are to be dated from his early years. Take, for example, the bronze struck at Lyons in 10 A.D.,[3] when Tiberius had reached the age of fifty-two. Here, although the features are rather youthful for one of mature years, by no possible stretch of the imagination can the short cheek-beard be interpreted as in itself an indication of youthfulness, or as so intended on the part of the die-cutter. In fact it can be explained only on the ground that it is here worn as a sign of mourning for the defeat of Varus which occurred in the previous year. All things considered, therefore, it seems highly improbable that the beard of the Corinthian portrait should be interpreted as a mere badge of youth.

[1] Cf. with the specific mention of Augustus in this sense, Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 79 . . . *quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens.* . . ."

[2] *Op. cit.* II, 1, p. 158, No. q., pl. XXVIII, 1.

[3] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 141, and pl. XXXII, 19; also Mongez, *Icon.* pl. 22, 6; Lenormant, *Icon.* pl. IX, 2; and Cohen, *op. cit.* I, p. 192, No. 28.

We are thus reduced to the conclusion that, in the case at least of the Tiberius at Corinth, the beard is worn as a sign of affliction. This is further borne out by the fact that the hair is also extremely long and thick, and in this respect quite different from the great majority of portraits, where it is noticeably scant and close fitting.[1] It remains, then, to decide to what particular misfortune suffered by Tiberius it should be referred. In this connection we can immediately exclude the possibility of its having any reference to an action at law since, although the emperor and the members of the royal family were still at this period subject to the common law at least in theory, it is well known that, as a matter of fact, they were quite above it. Of the two remaining possibilities mentioned, that which would explain the beard as a sign of grief for a great public calamity seems the less probable inasmuch as public misfortunes of any considerable magnitude were, in the first place, comparatively rare in the period of the early Empire, once the civil war incident to the establishment of Augustus upon the throne had been concluded. In fact the only outstanding calamity of the whole period comprised between the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., and the death of Tiberius was the defeat of Varus in the battle of the Teutoburgerwald, 9 A.D. That the latter should be regarded as occasioning the beard worn by the Tiberius at Corinth seems extremely doubtful since, if such were indeed the case, we might logically expect the other members of the Corinthian group to appear bearded for the same reason. Such, however, is not the case, and hence we conclude that the grief here commemorated must have been of a more private and personal nature. Exactly what this was appears at first sight difficult to say, since Tiberius is known to have been in mourning on a number of different occasions. A closer study of the circumstances of the latter, however, will enable us to select one among them as the most probable. Furthermore, in so doing we may exclude from consideration any private losses which Tiberius suffered previous to the year 6 B.C. which, as we have already seen, is to be taken as the probable *terminus post quem* of the work.

Briefly, then, the losses by death in the Julio-Claudian house between 6 B.C. and 37 A.D., when Tiberius himself died—losses, at least, in which Tiberius was presumably sufficiently interested to

[1] For long hair as well as beard cf. Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 67 . . . "*barbam capillumque summiserit*" . . ; *Div. Aug.* 23 . . . "*barba capilloque summisso.*"

signalize his grief by the outward assumption of mourning—are: 1. The death of his stepsons Lucius and Gaius Caesar in 2 and 4 A.D. respectively. 2. The death of Augustus in 14 A.D. 3. The death of his nephew Germanicus in 19 A.D. 4. The death of his son Drusus in 23 A.D. 5. The death of his mother Livia in 29 A.D. Of these the last four may be eliminated at once from our problem. We have already decided that the portrait of Augustus at Corinth was set up during the lifetime of the latter;[1] we have also observed the many and striking affinities in style, technique, scale, material, etc., exhibited by the Corinthian portraits of Tiberius and Augustus and have concluded that they were in all probability erected at about the same time as members of a single group; this granted, it is evident that the beard of Tiberius is worn neither in mourning for the death of Augustus nor for any of the losses suffered thereafter, but for a bereavement occurring between the years 6 B.C. and 14 A.D. This can only be the death of one or both of the young Caesars his stepsons.

So far so good; but a serious difficulty presents itself. If the two Corinthian portraits were set up at the same time, let us say *ca.* 4–5 A.D., how does it happen that the Tiberius alone wears mourning for the two young Caesars whereas Augustus, their maternal grandfather, is not so represented? The omission appears the more remarkable when we consider that to the latter their death was undoubtedly an occasion for real grief and keen disappointment, whereas to Tiberius it could not have served otherwise than as a cause of rejoicing,[2] a relief and rejoicing which, however, was necessarily dissimulated most carefully beneath a show of mourning. Several explanations are possible, though all are problematical. We may well suppose that work had been started on the group as early as 1–2 A.D., before the death of Lucius Caesar.[3] The Augustus would naturally be one of the first portraits undertaken and completed, whereas the Tiberius would as certainly have been one of the last; in fact it is scarcely probable that Tiberius, due to his banishment and the general disfavor into which he had fallen at Rome, would have been honored at all with a statue between the years 6 B.C. and 3–4 A.D. His fortunes seem to have been at so low an ebb, and the assumption of his unpopularity at court so firmly established,

[1] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 157.
[2] Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 13.
[3] *Obiit* August 20, 2 A.D.

that certain of his portraits in the provinces were at this time even thrown down.[1] On the other hand, this attitude must have been immediately reversed upon his recall to Rome,—a reversal further accentuated and soon converted into open flattery by the speedy deaths of Lucius and Gaius, and his own subsequent adoption by Augustus. Indeed there would then be every reason for adding to an imperial group the portrait of Tiberius who also, as heir apparent to the throne, might well be represented under an aspect similar to that of his stepfather the Emperor; quite naturally, also, he would be shown as in mourning for his own stepsons Gaius and Lucius.

The above theory is advanced with considerable hesitation and in full realization of the difficulties involved in its acceptance. However, in view of the fact that there is a considerable body of evidence bearing upon this question yet to be adduced from a study of the remaining statues of the group, I can only request that in the present instance final judgment be suspended. We may say, therefore, that, up to the present at least, the general trend of the available evidence indicates a date of *ca.* 1 A.D. for the Augustus, and of *ca.* 4 A.D. for the Tiberius.

In conclusion I must insist once more upon the remarkably fine quality and the genuine artistic merit of the portrait of Tiberius at Corinth. Not only is the work itself of unusual excellence from the technical point of view, giving evidence of a grasp of form and rendering and a skill in craftsmanship quite worthy of the best Greek tradition, but also—what is, perhaps, more important—it presents to us an entirely new and highly idealized interpretation of the inner character as well as of the outward appearance of a prince much slandered in his own and later ages, —a man whom we may well believe, as we study this latest likeness handed down to us from the mists of antiquity, to have been "more sinned against than sinning."

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[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 13 . . . "*contemtior in dies et invisior, adeo ut imagines eius et statuas Nemausenses subverterint.*" . . .

A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

PART III

Reprinted from the American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series, Vol. XXV (1921), No. 4

American School
of Classical Studies
at Athens

A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

III. Gaius and Lucius Caesar

(Plates X–XI)

We have seen that the two members of the Corinthian group already discussed, *i.e.*, the Augustus and the Tiberius,[1] are in all probability to be considered as companion pieces, inasmuch as they are both represented under the guise of priest or pontifex. Of the two works to which we now turn our attention this holds true to an even greater degree. In fact they are so closely bound together through affinity of subject, type, scale, technique, etc., that it seems to me essential that they be here treated beneath a single heading, a conclusion amply justified, I think, by a glance at Plates X and XI. That the youths represented by these portraits are blood relations, probably brothers, is self-evident; that they are also members of the family of Augustus seems equally assured by their remarkable resemblance in feature to the Augustan type. In fact this similarity is so striking that the better preserved of the two portraits (Plate X), which was also the first member of the group to come to light, was immediately upon its discovery dubbed "the young Augustus,"—an attribution which we did not seriously question until after the unearthing of the genuine Augustus at a considerably later period of the campaign. For convenience of reference, therefore, it seems to me advisable to anticipate somewhat the argument expounded in the following pages, in so far, at least, as to indicate my belief that the portraits before us represent respectively Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the grandsons of Augustus. The more complete of the two works, as representing the elder of the pair, I shall designate Gaius, the other, of which the bust only is preserved, Lucius.

As was the case with respect to those members of the group already discussed, the Gaius and Lucius were both discovered

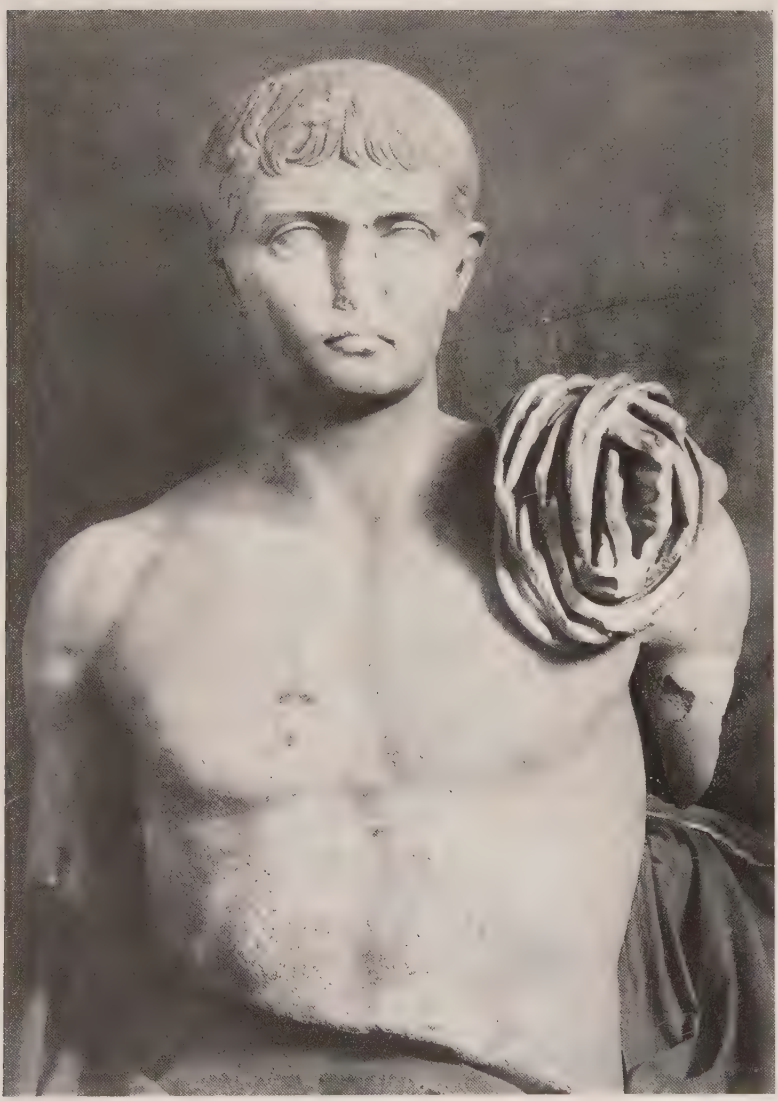
[1] Cf. the first two articles of the present series, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 142–159 and 248–265.

within the limits of the Roman basilica so often mentioned, the former just within the long southeast wall of the building (cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 143, fig. 1), the latter nearly opposite, but six or eight meters farther west.

The Gaius was found lying apparently undisturbed and just as it had fallen, directly beneath the same stratum of broken Roman tile, fragments of marble revetment, and miscellaneous débris in which, it will be remembered, the statue of Augustus was discovered (cf. article on the Augustus, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 144). The figure rested flat upon its back in a nearly horizontal position and seems to have settled gently downward through the rotting planks of the flooring of the upper story, without suffering any damage other than that incident to the fall from its original basis. To this first overthrow, which may or may not have taken place prior to the general ruin of the building, are, perhaps, due the few injuries sustained,—*e.g.*, the breaking of the right arm, which was found *in situ* beside the body, and the loss of the nose and the left forearm. The stratum of Roman tile, etc., which overlaid the statue was at this point rather thinly spread, while directly above it succeeded the usual accumulation of early Byzantine strata. Over the head and torso of the figure passed a rough wall of the post-classical period; its base, grounded in the stratum of broken tile, was formed of several huge architrave blocks, marble, and of the Ionic order. These seem to have originated from some unknown building farther up the slope. The statue itself rested at a depth of between four and five meters.

The portrait bust which I have designated as Lucius Caesar came to light at a considerably lower level, rather more than five meters beneath the surface and only a meter above hardpan. Nevertheless it had not enjoyed the undisturbed repose of its kindred portrait, but had clearly been tampered with subsequent to its fall. It was found lying on its back in a fairly thick stratum of late Roman débris which appeared to have been worked over in Byzantine times for the sake of the marble or other valuables it might have contained. The statue must have toppled from its pedestal and been more or less shattered when the basilica fell to ruin, at which time also the legs and lower part of the torso were lost, being in all probability hacked up and burnt for lime. The upper part of the torso, however, massive and not easily breakable, was mutilated and battered, after which it was apparently dragged to one side and rolled into a shallow trench in that portion

Portrait Statue of Gaius Caesar: Corinth.



Portrait of Lucius Caesar: Corinth.

of the débris which had already been plundered. Subsequently it was covered over and forgotten.

The statue of Gaius Caesar, though considerably over life size, is yet on a slightly smaller scale than the Augustus, the difference in height between the two—assuming the restoration of the feet of

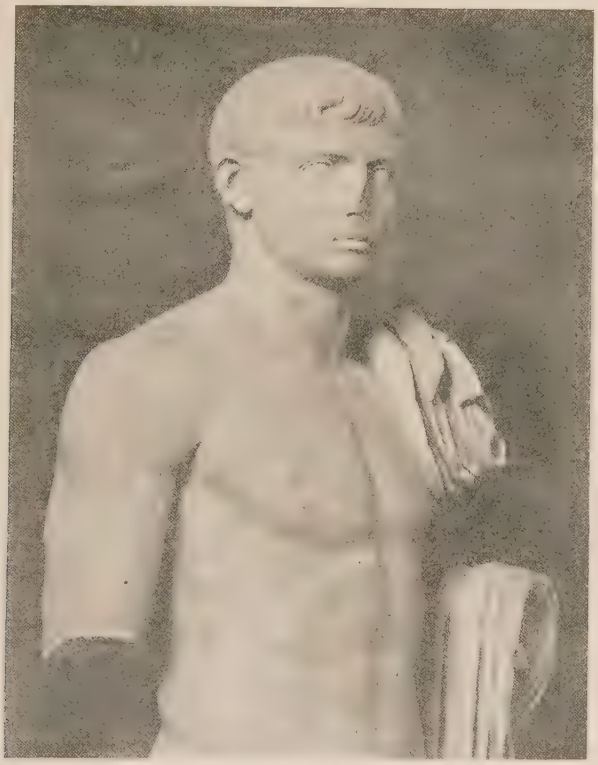


FIGURE 1.—GAIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

the latter—being not less than .25 m.[1] The figure is preserved to its full height, the entire composition, save only the left arm, having been cut from a solid block of marble; this forearm, as is evident from PLATE X, was worked separately and attached by

[1] Dimensions are: height 1.98 m., height with plinth 2.07 m., length of right leg .995 m., from plinth to navel 1.195 m., from navel to chin .52 m., length of neck, front, .095 m., length of face .185 m., width of face .17 m., height of forehead .05 m., length of nose .07 m., width of mouth .055 m., length of right foot .32 m.

means of an iron dowel, the stump of which has expanded through oxidation and split both the arm and the drapery about it. Save for the loss of the nose, the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and the left forearm already mentioned, the statue is in almost perfect condition; a few unimportant fragments of drapery, however, have disappeared—three or four from the roll of the *chlamys* at the left shoulder, and another large piece from behind the upper part of the left arm.[1] The upper rim of the left ear is also slightly chipped and a shallow dent may be observed in the top of the head towards the front. Upon the upper surface of the plinth, and more particularly between the feet of the figure, there remain numerous traces of a coating of coarse stucco painted a dark red; no other unmistakable traces of pigment survived.[2] It is to be noted, however, that the lips and eyeballs are of a distinctly lighter shade than the remainder of the flesh surfaces and hence indicate clearly that they were at one time protected by a coating of paint; the difference in tone is sufficient to be marked even in a photograph (cf. Fig. 1).

As in the other members of the group, the material here employed is a fairly good grade of Pentelic marble in which may be detected an occasional silvery vein of schist; the block was so manipulated, however, that these do not appear noticeably in a front view of the figure. The back is further marred not only by the usual roughness of finish, but also by a considerable flaw in the stone itself in the region of the left shoulder. At this point the back is asymmetric, the left side being much flattened and roughened.

The statue is a nude male figure in heroic pose, the light *chlamys* being carried on the left arm and shoulder in the manner seen in the Hermes of Atalante.[3] The weight of the figure is supported on the right leg, while the left is flexed at the knee and advanced.

[1] This is shown by a slight break in the drapery above, the rough working of the surface of the skin, and an "attachment boss" on the upper arm.

[2] On the front of the plinth between the feet appears a cutting for one half of a strong hook clamp, by means of which the plinth was made fast in its basis.

[3] Cf. Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, fig. 41 and p. 56. The author remarks: "The work has been referred back to a Lysippic original, but it seems more likely that it is an Attic adaptation of the eclectic school now (*i.e.*, middle of third century B.C.) springing into existence." The type is preserved for us in a number of replicas (cf. *Gazette Arch.* II, 1876, p. 84, notes 1 and 2) and seems to have been popular and widespread in the late Hellenistic period. The work itself is of Pentelic marble and slightly over life size.

The left arm is bent at the elbow and the forearm is extended supporting the folds of the *chlamys* which fall along the thigh and leg and conceal the upper portion of the heavy supporting tree trunk which rises from the plinth behind the left heel. The right arm hangs naturally at the side with the hand half closed and the thumb forward, and seems to have held an attribute of some sort. This is indicated by a small hole drilled into the palm of the hand opposite the space between the tips of the third and fourth fingers. In consideration of the type of the figure I judge that the attribute could only have been a *caduceus*, of bronze and probably gilded. Many analogies may be quoted for the pose and the draping of the *chlamys*, most of which serve to indicate that we have here the usual "Hermes type" so characteristic of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture,[1] a type repeated with almost infinite variation in the later imperial portraiture.[2] The head is turned to the right, the gaze level and direct, and though not of great intensity the general expression may be characterized as that of alertness in repose; a slight Augustan frown is noticeable between the eyes. Like the other members of the Corinthian group, the statue gives no evidence of having been exposed to the weather, and must have stood under cover, either against a wall or within a niche.

The technique seems much like that of the portraits already discussed. The drill was used sparingly on the flesh surfaces, but much more freely in the undercutting of the drapery which is nevertheless most plastically and skilfully rendered, even to the indication of the leaden draping-weights at the lower edges.[3] Slight traces of drilling are apparent at the inner corner of each eye and at the corners of the mouth, the parting of the lips being rendered by carrying the "drill line" across from corner to corner (cf. Fig. 2). Elsewhere on the body the drill was used only in the hair about the pubes, where is to be noted a most unusual and archaic technique in that the hair is done in round "snail-shell"

[1] In this connection it is interesting to note the passage of Athenaeus which tells us that Alexander liked to appear as Hermes (Athen. XII, p. 537E).

[2] Cf., for example, Commodus as Mercury in the Mantua museum, Labus, *Museo di Mantova*, III, pl. VI, p. 34 f.; Augustus as Mercury in the Museum of Rennes, *Gazette Arch.* I, 1875, pl. 36, p. 135; Tiberius as Mercury in the Naples museum Reinach, *Rep. de la Sculp. Grec. et Rom.* I, p. 568, pl. 925, No. 2351, also Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.*, II, 1, p. 172, No. 15; Nero as Mercury in the Glyptothek, Munich, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 577, pl. 938, No. 2397, also Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 399, and III, p. 57, etc., etc.

[3] Cf. the Hermes of Praxiteles for a similar detail.

curls, the centre of each being indicated by a distinct circular boring. The flesh surfaces are smoothly worked but unpolished, while the face and neck seem rather more carefully finished than the rest of the body. The modelling is good but generally lacking in fluidity and warmth, and although quite correct it appears somewhat hard and academic. The modelling of the face, though

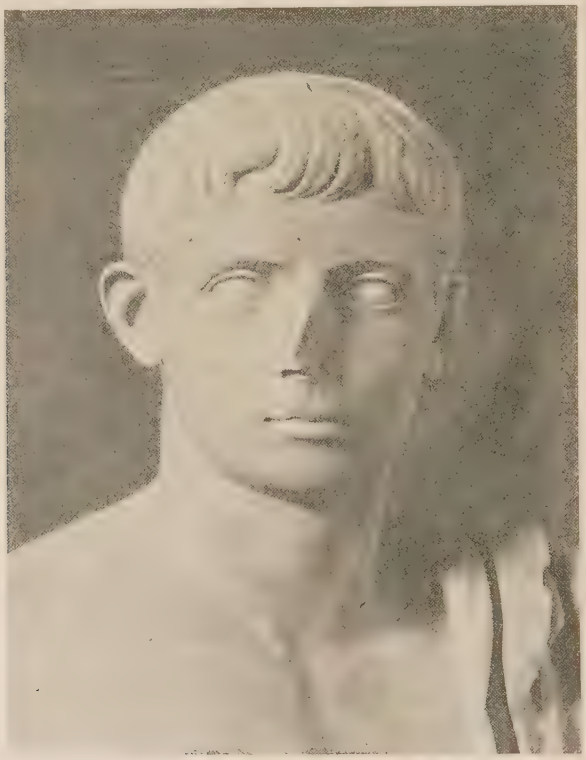


FIGURE 2.—GAIUS CAESAR? CORINTH.

generalized, possesses, nevertheless, a degree of subtlety which shows up effectively when viewed in the proper light; yet we must admit that the forms are rather cold and lacking in detail, a trait characteristic of the period to which the work clearly belongs. The Roman age is further revealed by the careless treatment of the feet, which are broad, flat, poorly modelled, and out of proportion. These imperfections, though scarcely pardonable, are to be explained by the fact that the statue almost certainly occu-

pied a position well above the eye of the spectator and was intended to be viewed only from the front.

The hair lies close to the scalp after the Polyclitan fashion, and is divided all over its surface into flat waving tresses which seem as if drawn on it but never stand out separately in relief; the locks across the forehead are particularly stiff and careful in their arrangement and, as in the case of the Augustus and the Tiberius, seem to follow a fixed iconographic scheme. Upon the top and back of the head the hair is very summarily treated. The eyes are fairly wide, with gaze directed very slightly downward and well to the right (cf. Fig. 2); the upper lids overlap markedly at the outer corners, and both the upper and lower are rendered sharply and in high relief, which in the former amounts almost to undercutting. These details of the hair and eyes just mentioned derive undoubtedly from a bronze technique. The eyeballs, though set well back in their sockets, are rounded and fairly prominent, the latter characteristic being accentuated by their unusual whiteness (cf. Figs. 1 and 2) due to the protecting layer of paint with which they were once coated. The brows are slightly arched and marked by a distinct ridge dividing them from the forehead—again reminiscent of bronze. The frown between the eyes, together with the broad forehead and a certain level gaze, gives the face its strongest resemblance to the Augustan type.

Attention must finally be called to a remarkable point of technique which has until recently received but scant attention from writers on ancient sculpture. I refer to indications which tend to prove that mechanical "pointing devices" were used in the classic period,—a subject upon which the statue under discussion serves to throw a ray of light.[1] On the rear of the left arm, where the

[1] Cf. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (edit. 1915), pp. 32–35, . . "In fact we can see such *puntelli* upon several unfinished works of sculpture. But these mostly belong to Hellenistic or Roman times; and even on works of this later period they are not always to be seen, while on earlier monuments they seem to be almost, if not entirely, unknown. . . . In later times, when genius and inspiration were less frequent, and art was more a matter of academic study, we find that the use of finished clay models became as universal as it is at the present day, and that their form was transferred to the marble by the same mechanical process that is now in use. The *puntelli*, however, seem, from their comparatively limited number, to have been rather a help to the sculptor . . . than a purely mechanical means of producing a marble facsimile of the clay model." For a further discussion of this subject, with full references, cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom, s.v. sculptura, V. La confection de la statue.—La maquette.* The most interesting

finish is far from careful, occur two conical protuberances rather less than 1 cm. in height; each takes the form of a truncated cone with a dot or sharp dimple-like sinking in the exact centre of the truncated area, and both are situated on the outer curve of the arm at a point where they would have been largely concealed by the drapery. The larger, situated on the upper arm directly above the elbow, has a height of .01 m. and a maximum diameter of .015 m., while the other, situated on the forearm in the same horizontal plane with the first but about .06 m. in front of it, measures .007 m. in height and .01 m. across. There is no doubt in my mind that these protuberances are typical *puntelli* which, because of their inconspicuous position, were forgotten in the final working over of the statue when many others were finally removed. If such is indeed the case, the statue was taken directly from a model by means of a process more or less mechanical.

Considered as a whole, it is quite clear that our portrait statue is of the same school and period as the Corinthian Augustus, and like the latter is academic and generalized in treatment. It displays also that same Greek trait of idealization so clearly marked in the former work, while on the technical side it would seem to have been modelled after a bronze original, or at least have been done under the influence of a strong school of bronze workers.

The description of the Gaius Caesar just given will apply almost equally well to the Lucius, its companion piece in the group, due allowance being made, of course, for the more mutilated condition of the latter. The scale in each case is identical, the type similar, and the technique very like.[1] Of the Lucius the head, shoulders, and upper half of torso alone are preserved, the main break occurring above the navel and extending diagonally downward from right to left. The figure, like its companion, was doubtless cut from a single block of marble, although it is clear that the right arm, due probably to an accidental crack or break,

example of mechanical reproduction that has come down to us from antiquity is doubtless the marble athlete in the Uffizi (cf. Bloch, *Röm. Mitt.* VII, pp. 81 f.; Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, p. 21, No. 25; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 393 f.), which is an almost exact replica of the famous bronze athlete from Ephesus (cf. Benndorf in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, I, pp. 181 f., particularly p. 194, "Es handelt sich also um eine mit dem mechanischen Punktiersystem erzeugte Copie.")

[1] The dimensions are: greatest height .95 m., length of neck, front, .085 m., length of face .175 m., width of face .18 m., height of forehead .04 m., length of nose, approximately .07 m., width of mouth .052 m.

was repaired or restored by means of a hook-clamp spanning the fracture across the lower part of the biceps (cf. PLATE XI and Fig. 3). It should be noted in this connection that there were found at about the same level as that from which came the bust itself and within the north aisle of the basilica a right hand and

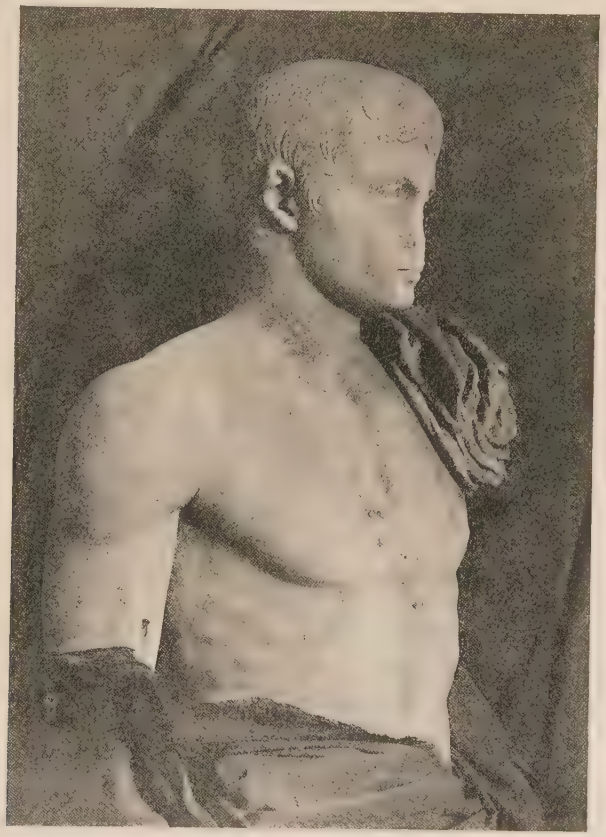


FIGURE 3.—LUCIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

wrist which fitted with an elbow and forearm discovered in the eastern portion of the building. Since these fragments are of Pentelic marble and of the same scale and technique as the portrait under discussion, it is practically certain that they belonged to it. Although the first finger and thumb are lacking, the hand is seen to be contracted as if to hold an attribute, probably a *caduceus*, its presence being vouched for here also, as in the case of the

Gaius, by a small hole drilled in the palm opposite the tips of the third and fourth fingers. The face unfortunately is considerably battered, the nose being almost entirely lacking save for the bridge between the eyes; the upper lip is also abraded and flattened while the lower is considerably chipped; the same may be said of the brows near the bridge of the nose, as also of the lids to a certain extent; the front of the right cheek is somewhat scarred, almost the entire rim of the right ear is lacking, and that of the left, together with the cheek just before it, shows several ugly dents. The roll of the *chlamys* upon the left shoulder is badly battered, the front of the torso is worn and roughened in places, and the entire surface of the marble is mottled with ground and root stains. No traces of artificial coloring survive.

The material employed is the usual fine-grained Pentelic marble, in which a thin vein of silvery schist marks the diagonal break through the left arm just below the shoulder.

The original statue was doubtless of a "nude Hermes type" very similar to that of the Gaius, and judging from the heightened left shoulder and the play of muscles on the same side of the torso, one may safely conclude that the weight of the body was carried on the left leg. The head is turned slightly to the left, and the gaze though level and direct lacks the maturity and assurance observable in the expression of the Gaius; in spite of mutilations the Augustan frown is to be seen between the eyes. It seems to me that the bust had in all probability not been exposed to the weather prior to its overthrow. The rather summary workmanship of the back surfaces at least proves the figure so stood that the rear was concealed from view.

The technique shows no notable departure from that of the Gaius. Although the characteristic drilling is observable in corresponding positions, the flesh surfaces, perhaps, seem rougher and less carefully done, and no especial care is lavished on the face. On the whole the modelling is the same, although even more generalized and lacking in detail. The hair is treated in the same close-fitting Polyclitan style but with much less care and definition, although here again the arrangement of the locks across the forehead seems to follow an iconographic scheme. The entire top and back of the head, however, is simply blocked out in the rough. The eyes are less widely opened than are those of the Gaius, while the gaze is directed slightly downward and to the left; a considerable difference is also apparent in the rendering of

the eyeballs which here show a distinctly impressionistic treatment, particularly in that their surface is flattened and less sharply differentiated from the surrounding lids. The latter show no undercutting. These variations of technique, though slight in themselves and, perhaps, to be attributed to mere carelessness on the part of the sculptor, seem to me, nevertheless, significant. A careful comparison of the two portraits will show, for instance, that the impression of greater youthfulness imparted by the Lucius is directly traceable to the expression of the eyes, and this in turn is due to the impressionistic treatment of the eyeballs. Other and less obvious indications also tend to prove that in this portrait the sculptor sought to represent a youth of less mature years; for example, the face is shorter, more rounded and less massive, the forehead is lower, the mouth less wide and firm. In brief, the task imposed upon the sculptor of this statue was that of representing a youth several years the junior of the Gaius, and this he has accomplished by perfectly definite means. There can be no doubt that the lads are brothers and that the more mutilated portrait figures the younger of the two.

Since it would interrupt the logical continuity of my subject to take up at this point the problem of the positions occupied by these two portraits in the great group to which they certainly belonged, I wish here merely to call attention to a few significant details bearing on this question. Upon comparison it is evident that, despite their striking similarity in most respects, they show a subtle variation in pose and rhythm which is exactly that which might be expected had they been designed to balance each other on either side of a central figure or figures. For example, although the arrangement of drapery is similar in each, the weight of the body rests on the right leg in the case of the Gaius, but on the left in the Lucius; the former turns his head and gaze to the right, while the latter looks to the left. Thus, although the position of the arms was probably identical in each, that delicate symmetry and rhythm in grouping was obtained which was so generally demanded by the fine artistic sense of antiquity.

The foregoing paragraph is intended as a mere suggestion in passing. I shall return to this point in my discussion of the reconstitution of the group as a whole.

By way of introduction to the iconography of the two portraits before us a brief résumé of the personal history of Gaius and Lucius may not be amiss.

Sons of Agrippa and of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, Gaius was born in 20 B.C. and Lucius three years later.[1] Upon the birth of the latter both were adopted by Augustus[2] who conferred upon them the name "Caesar," and later overwhelmed them with honors before they were legally of age to receive them.[3] Spoiled by the early distinctions which they had received, the youths became haughty and overbearing[4] even to the extent of opposing Augustus himself; in this, however, they kept within bounds and gave him no occasion for withdrawing his favor.[5] From regard for Augustus the Roman people in 5 B.C. chose Gaius *consul designatus*.[6] Augustus himself created Gaius pontifex and Lucius chief of the college of augurs,[7] and had them consecrate a temple and preside at certain games.[8]

Gaius saw his first military service in Germany under Tiberius, and in his eighteenth year he was sent to the East under the title of Proconsul of Asia.[9] Here, with the assistance of mature and able advisors, he conducted successful campaigns against the Nabataeans, Parthians, and Armenians.[10] He was named consul in 1 A.D., marched once more into Armenia, and conquered a large part of the country.[11] There he was surprised during a parley with the enemy and received a wound from which he never entirely recovered. Enfeebled in body and spirit he determined to

[1] Cf. Dio, LIV, 18.

[2] Cf. Suet. *Augustus*, 64.

[3] Cf. Tacitus, I, 3, and Dio, LIV, 10, 1.

[4] Cf. Dio, LV, 9.

[5] Among other honors, Augustus erected a porticus and a basilica in their name (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29). The porticus was one of the more important monuments built by Augustus during the latter part of his reign (cf. Van Deman, 'The Porticus of Gaius and Lucius,' *A.J.A.* 1913, pp. 14 f.).

[6] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 64; *Mon. Ancyr.* III, 1 f.

[7] Cf. Dio, Frags., Morelli's edit. of 1800, p. 6.

[8] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 551 f.; Dio, LIV, 26, and LV, 8. According to Beaudouin, 'La Culte des Empereurs dans les Cités de la Gaule Narbonaise,' article in *Annales de l'enseignement supérieur de Grenoble*, III, p. 69 (Grenoble, 1891), the famous temple at Nemausus, known as the "Maison Carrée," was built in their honor before they died. In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1919, pp. 332–340, is a discussion of the traces of the inscription on the Maison Carrée, in which it is argued that the temple was built by Agrippa between 20 and 12 B.C., and dedicated to Gaius and Lucius between 1 and 5 A.D.

[9] Cf. Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, I, 177.

[10] Cf. Velleius Paterculus, II, 101–102; Dio, LV, 11; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 12; *Augustus*, 94.

[11] Cf. Zonarus, p. 539.

live in private in Syria, but at the urgent request of Augustus he abandoned his command and started homeward. He got no farther than Lycia, however, where he died in 4 A.D. at the age of twenty-three.

His body was brought to Rome together with that of his brother Lucius who, at the age of eighteen, had died at Massilia one and a half years before while on his way to take command of the Roman troops in Spain.[1] In honor of their young patron Lucius the people of the colony of Pisa erected to him a sumptuous cenotaph and established a yearly festival which was later dedicated to Gaius also.[2] At Cos games were established in his honor, as well as a regular cult with attendant priests.[3] These two prompt deaths which opened to Tiberius the succession to the throne gave rise to the suspicion that their author was none other than Livia, the mother of Tiberius.[4]

In attacking a problem of iconography such as that now before us the first step is necessarily an investigation of the numismatic sources, which ordinarily may be expected to lay the foundation for the attribution. In the case of Gaius and Lucius, however, the portraits which have come down to us on coins are comparatively few in number and of mediocre iconographic value; the two heads are for the most part represented in small scale facing each other on the same side of the coin, often combined with the head of Julia as well. With the exception of a few notable coins of Gaius, all the pieces bearing portraits of the young princes were struck outside Rome, and this in turn may further account for the inferior rendition of the features.

Thanks to the kindness of Mr. G. F. Hill of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, I am enabled to publish the more important coins of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, here for the first time gathered together (Fig. 4). Of the coins figured the two most important are without doubt the *aureus* and its corresponding *denarius* (Fig. 4, A and B), the only coins of Gaius

[1] His funeral was celebrated with great magnificence, and altars, temples, and statues were erected in his honor (cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, II, 3, p. 1127). He received divine honors in Mitylene, and in Pergamum together with Gaius; Acerrae erected a temple to both as heroes (cf. H. Heine, 'Zur Begründung des röm. Kaiserkultes,' *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 177).

[2] Cf. Norris, 'Cenotaphia Pisana,' in *Graev. Thes.* VIII, 3.

[3] Cf. H. Heine, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cf. Dio, Frag. VIII; Tacitus, I, 3; Pliny, VII, 145.

which are known to have been struck in Rome.[1] Although these have usually been dated 17 B.C., Mr. Hill[2] shows that they should rather be assigned to 5 B.C., the date of Gaius' *deductio in forum;* since this later date is now generally accepted, the iconographic

FIGURE 4.—PORTRAITS OF GAIUS AND LUCIUS CAESAR ON COINS.

value of the portraits is thus immensely increased. The heads on both coins are practically identical, of noble form and ideal cast of

[1] For the *aureus*, A, cf. G. F. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, pp. 165–168; Brit. Mus. Cat., *Roman Republican*, II, p. 42, No. 4468; Cohen, *Méd. Imp. Romaines*, I, p. 113, No. 1, pl. V. For the *denarius*, B, cf. Hill, *loc. cit.;* Brit. Mus. Cat., *Roman Republican*, II, p. 42, No. 4469; Cohen, *op. cit.* I, p. 113, No. 2, pl. V.

[2] *Historical Roman Coins*, *loc. cit.*

countenance reminiscent of a Greek athletic type which, while clearly Polyclitan, is yet somewhat influenced by the Olympia pediments;[1] in addition they show plainly the influence of the Augustan type of features, and upon comparison with a profile view of the portrait at Corinth (Fig. 5) they manifest a general resemblance which can scarcely be fortuitous. The silver *denarius* (Fig. 4 c), with heads of Gaius, Julia and Lucius on the reverse was struck at Rome probably between 17 and 13 B.C.[2] It is hence almost too early to be of iconographic value, quite aside from the fact that the scale of the portraits is such as to render them practically worthless in this respect. The three bronze coins of Clazomenae, Corinth, and Pergamum respectively (Fig. 4, Nos. 1, 2, and 3) upon which appear busts of Gaius and Lucius face to face offer little information bearing upon our subject, save only, perhaps, that a certain "family resemblance" may be expected between the portraits of the youths wherever found.[3] Of the remaining coins figured, the four bronzes of Thessalonica, Pergamum, Tralles, and Aphrodisias (Fig. 4, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 respectively) show each the head of Gaius facing to the right;[4] due to the larger scale of these portraits we are justified in drawing certain conclusions as to the type of face which they present. It is apparent, I think, that a marked similarity exists between Nos. 5, 7, and 8; in each the forehead is rather low, the nose large and straight, the mouth firm with a slight droop at the corners, while the chin, though rounded and well marked, is comparatively small and receding; moreover the eye is large and wide, and looks forth boldly from beneath a slightly frowning brow. That such clear resemblances are observable in portraits from cities so widely separated as Tralles and Thessalonica is sufficient proof that the type represented was both well established and widespread; furthermore, as a type prevalent in the East, it might logically be expected to appear at Corinth. A comparison of the

[1] Cf. a bronze head in the Glyptothek, Munich, published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, taf. 14, 3.

[2] Cf. Cohen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116, No. 1; also Brit. Mus. Cat., *Roman Republican* II, p. 95, No. 4649.

[3] For these coins cf.: 1. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Ionia*, p. 31, No. 120; 2. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Corinth*, p. 62, No. 508, pl. XV, 15; 3. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, p. 140, No. 250, a coin of Tiberius.

[4] For these coins cf.: 5. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Macedon*, p. 116, No. 73, a coin of Augustus; 6. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, p. 139, No. 246; 7. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Lydia*, p. 344, No. 117, pl. XXXVI, 1; 8. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Caria*, p. 40, No. 98.

coins in question with the portrait at Corinth (cf. particularly Figs. 5 and 1) indicates that such was, indeed, the case; we see in the latter the same rather low forehead, the large eyes beneath a slightly frowning brow, the large nose, the firm mouth, and the same rounded chin, small, and lacking in prominence. The

FIGURE 5.—PROFILE OF GAIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

Pergamene coin, No. 6, presents a rather different type, more ideal, and decidedly Greek in feeling; nevertheless, here also a certain resemblance appears in the line of the forehead, nose, and mouth. The remaining coins, Nos. 4 and 9, with portraits of Lucius Caesar are worthless for iconographic purposes.[1] Never-

[1] For these coins cf.: 4. Bronze, Pergamum, the reverse of No. 6; 9. Bronze, Tralles, cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Lydia*, p. 345, No. 123, pl. XXXVI, 3.

theless, comparison of the former with its obverse, No. 6, shows again a striking "family resemblance" between the portraits of the two youths, in this case, however, distinctly stylistic; the influence of the Augustan type is also quite apparent.

So far, then, as concerns the numismatic evidence adduced, we must admit that of itself it is inconclusive; yet we are justified, it seems to me, in basing upon it the following assumptions. First, that portraits of Gaius and Lucius, where found together, will show a marked resemblance one to another. Second, that they will be more or less strongly influenced by the well-known Augustan type. Third, that, in the case of Gaius at least, there existed in the East a widespread and clearly individual type, the salient characteristics of which are easily discernible; and further, that the influence of this type is quite apparent in the portrait at Corinth.

Turning now from numismatic criteria let us consider the remaining evidence for the attribution. This, though less direct, is far more conclusive.

Gaius at the time of his death was twenty-three, and Lucius died at the age of eighteen. With these ages the two portraits at Corinth seem to agree exactly. The figure of Gaius is, as shown above, clearly the elder by several years, and yet the face in spite of its comparative maturity can scarcely be that of a man of more than twenty-three.[1] Further, arguing from the presumptive resemblance of the princes to other members of their immediate family whose features are well known to us—a resemblance clearly indicated even in the coins—we find that in this instance also the case for the Corinthian portraits is remarkably strong. Turning first to their father Agrippa, we discern at once a distinct similarity between his portraits and those of the youths at Corinth,—a similarity not merely assumed to have existed, but vouched for by Macrobius.[2] Compare, for example, our Figures 1 and 3 with the bust of Agrippa in the Louvre;[3] in all three the cheeks and lower part of the face are extremely alike, although the chin of Agrippa is stronger and more prominent. The most striking

[1] That these portraits probably do not represent the young Caesars as of a period *prior to their death* will be demonstrated hereafter in my discussion of the date of these works.

[2] Macrobius, *Sat.* II, 5,—*Idem* (Augustus) *cum ad nepotum turbam similitudinemque respexerat, qua representabatur Agrippa, dubitare de pudicitia filiae erubescebat.*

[3] Cf. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pl. 174.

likeness, however, is that observable in the mouth, lips, and cheek of the Gaius (Fig. 1). The close affinity shown by the Corinthian portraits to the Augustan type is so palpably self-evident and has been so frequently mentioned in the foregoing pages that I must crave the reader's indulgence for reverting to it again at this point; I wish, however, by the citation of specific analogies to remove any possible ground for doubt. It is to be noted particularly in the following comparison that the most striking resemblances reside in the upper half of the face, —in the brows, eyes, forehead, shape of the skull, and even in the general arrangement of the hair across the forehead to a truly remarkable degree;[1] further, the resemblances, though found equally in each of the Corinthian portraits, are in general more convincing and more easily discernible in the Gaius than in the Lucius, due, of course, to the better preservation of the former. Compare, then, PLATE XI and Figure 2 with a head of Augustus in the Boston Museum,[2] Figure 2 with the head of the Augustus of Prima Porta,[3] Figure 3 with the head of a portrait in the Museo Nazionale,[4] PLATE XI with a colossal head in the Vatican,[5] Figure 1 with a toga-clad portrait in the Villa Borghese,[6] and PLATE XI and Figure 2 with the bust of a statue in the Vatican.[7] Since many another and equally convincing analogy might be drawn, it is only necessary in concluding this topic to call attention to the self-evident relationship between Gaius and Lucius and the portrait of Augustus at Corinth.[8]

Before passing on to a general consideration of the varied and heterogeneous collection of ancient portraits upon which attempts have been made at different times to foist the names of Gaius or Lucius Caesar, it is well to summarize briefly the results already obtained. In the first place, then, the argument from probabil-

[1] Cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 356,—"The beautiful curved mouth of Augustus, and the fine abundant hair, combed somewhat boyishly over the forehead, *where it separates into three distinct strands*, are characteristics which reappear more or less markedly in other members of the Julio-Claudian family."

[2] Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 167.

[3] Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 171.

[4] Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 173, left.

[5] Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 169, a.

[6] Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 165, b.

[7] Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon*, II, 1, taf. III, left.

[8] Cf. Pl. XI and Fig. 1 with pl. VI in the article on Augustus, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921.

ity, in its cumulative effect, is well-nigh conclusive. We have here the portraits of two youths who were clearly brothers; the portraits are companion pieces, of identical type, style, size, and technique; they were found within the limits of the same Roman building at nearly equal depths and were certainly set up together at one and the same time; one of the youths, represented as in the early twenties, is clearly several years older than the other. These facts of themselves would be amply sufficient to suggest in the strongest possible manner the attribution already made,[1]—but when in addition we note also that the features of each portrait show not only the most unmistakable similarity to those of Augustus but also a clear resemblance to those of Agrippa as well,—that with these portraits were found others, of Augustus himself and Tiberius, works of the same style, material, and technique, and all most assuredly belonging to a single great imperial group, the conclusion that the two portraits can only represent Gaius and Lucius Caesar is inevitable. It is further confirmed in striking manner by the numismatic evidence. We may, therefore, accept the attribution suggested, proceeding thence to note any confirmatory evidence discernible in other portraits supposed to represent these princes.

Of the so-called portraits of Gaius and Lucius listed by Bernoulli,[2] few are accessible to students in adequate reproductions, photographic or otherwise, and fewer still are of any iconographic significance, due to the fact that the identification in almost all cases is based on very slight evidence; a fancied resemblance to Augustus, stylistic conformity to the portrait type of the early empire, mere youthfulness and loftiness of mien, have often in themselves been considered sufficient ground for fixing upon a youthful male portrait the name of Gaius or Lucius. Of the six or eight pairs of portraits mentioned by the German scholar one only—the two busts of children in the Museo Chiaramonti[3]—is known to me, and this has since been shown to belong to a considerably later period.[4] I can say little more of the single portraits. The head of a youth, called Gaius, No. 365, in the Museo

[1] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 133.

[2] *Op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 133–137.

[3] Cf. Amelung, *Sculp. des Vat. Mus.*, I, taf. 61, Nos. 417, 419.

[4] Strong, *Rom. Sculp.* p. 367, and pl. CXVII,—"The two busts, . . 417 and 419, so long misnamed Gaius and Lucius Caesar, belong to the Flavio-Trajanic period."

Chiaramonti,[1] shows no resemblance whatever to the portrait at Corinth and is probably somewhat later, if one may judge from the treatment of the hair. The gems are equally unsatisfactory. The two in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris[2] do not, in the first place, portray brothers, nor do they further show any similarity to the portraits at Corinth.

To Bernoulli's list, however, I would add the following works, several of which are more important:

1. Relief on the so-called "altar of the Lares" in the Uffizi Gallery, dated 2 A.D.[3] Augustus occupies the centre of a group of three persons, with Livia on his right and on his left a young man, who is, perhaps, to be identified with one or the other of the two princes, more probably Lucius, inasmuch as Gaius was at this time in the East. Comparison of this portrait with the two at Corinth (particularly Figs. 1, 3 and 5) reveals a striking resemblance in type of face,—a similarity which extends even to details, as, for example, in the eyes, mouth and chin. Indeed, the "family likeness" here discernible is not to be denied, and we can only regret that the scale of the photograph of the Florentine relief is such as to preclude the possibility of determining to which of the Corinthian portraits it is more nearly akin.

2. Portrait head of Lucius in the Worcester Art Museum.[4] According to the *Bulletin*, this head is a companion piece to another in the Metropolitan Museum wrongly identified as a likeness of Tiberius in his youth; both heads are executed in the same kind of marble and were found at the same time and in the same place; further, the unmistakable resemblance between the personages proclaims them members of one family. The *Bulletin* continues: "From a study chiefly of portrait-coins and portrait-gems we believe it likely that these heads represent Caius Caesar and Lucius Caesar." Comparison of the portrait at Worcester with the works in Corinth is interesting; yet a sure

[1] Cf. Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 58.

[2] Cf. Babelon, *Cat. des Camées Antiq.* Gaius, p. 114, No. 247, pl. XXV, Lucius, p. 114, No. 248, pl. XXV; Chabouillet, *Cat. Gen. des Camées*, Nos. 204, 205; Duruy, *Hist. des Rom.* III, cut p. 747.

[3] Cf. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, p. 73, No. 99; Strong, *op. cit.* p. 74; Photograph Alinari, No. 1163; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 45, No. 102; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Oberitalien*, III, p. 218; Michaelis in *Jb. Arch. I.* 1891, p. 229, No. 23, fig. 10.

[4] Cf. *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, V, No. 3, October 1914, p. 12, plates on pp. 4 and 5.

identification of the former with either one of the latter seems scarcely possible. To be noted, however, is the similarity in the arrangement of the hair across the forehead exhibited by the two Lucii.[1] On the other hand, the mouth of the Worcester portrait with its delicate Augustan curve is more nearly approached by that of the Corinthian Gaius, although here, of course, allowance must be made for the more damaged condition of the face of the Lucius. On the whole it seems to me that there exists at least a probability that the person represented by the two portraits is the same.

3. Portrait head of Gaius, called "the young Tiberius," in the Metropolitan Museum.[2] Due to the obvious similarity between this head and the portrait at Worcester, the comparisons drawn above will apply here equally well, and the same ambiguity is apparent upon comparison with the portraits at Corinth. The general contour of the face, the forehead, brows, and chin resemble those of the Gaius rather than of the Lucius (cf. Figs. 2, 5 and 1), whereas the mouth is very like that of the Lucius (cf. pl. XI and Fig. 3); nevertheless I should not hesitate to identify this portrait with that of Gaius at Corinth provided only that the hair across the forehead were at all similar. Under the circumstances, therefore, I can offer nothing more than a "probable identification." That the bust in the Metropolitan Museum represents Tiberius seems to me highly improbable.

4. Bronze statue of Gaius in the Metropolitan Museum.[3] Allowing for the difference in technique and effect of bronze and marble, and having taken into due account the youthful and immature forms of the bronze portrait, I think it quite probable that the latter represents the boy whom we see just grown to manhood in the Corinthian Gaius. A comparison of the two in profile discloses many points of resemblance,[4] while in full face[5] the greatest similarity exists in the tapering outline of the countenance, the shape of the chin and mouth, the broad low forehead, and the rounded dome of the skull; there is also a certain likeness in the brows and eyes. Here again the arrangement of the hair across

[1] Cf. our pl. XI, with the *Bulletin*, pl. on p. 4.

[2] Cf. *B. Met. Mus.* IX, No. 3, March 1914 pp. 60–61, figs. 2 and 3; also Miss Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, p. 248, No. 55, fig. 151.

[3] Cf. Miss Richter, in *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 121–128, pls. I–VI; also in the *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, p. 246 f., No. 57, fig. 150.

[4] Cf. *op. cit.* pls. V and III, with our Fig. 5.

[5] Cf. *op. cit.* pl. VI, with our Fig. 2.

the forehead gives strong confirmation to the identification proposed. Miss Richter, in discussing the bronze in the Metropolitan Museum,[1] concludes that it is a Greek work done probably in the eastern half of the Roman Empire, and observes most aptly its importance in that it shows that at this comparatively late date there were still Greek artists, in no sense mere copyists, who were thoroughly imbued with the idealizing tendencies of the earlier Greek sculpture. This same observation holds true even more strikingly of the Corinthian portrait, since in the latter the course of this idealization lies in the direction of the classic Greek athletic canon rather than in that of the semi-orientalized Hellenistic tradition.

5. Portrait head, marble, in the Capitoline Museum, formerly called Caligula,[2] but identified by Studniczka as Gaius because of its resemblance to Agrippa.[3] The cut of this portrait given in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* is on too small a scale to admit of fruitful comparison with the Corinthian portrait; it seems, however, to be of a rather different type, although showing manifest resemblances, *e.g.*, in the shape of head and face, and in the brows and mouth. The arrangement of the hair across the forehead is quite different.

6–9. With the head in the Capitoline Studniczka links four other so-called portraits of Caligula, to wit,—a head of green basalt in the same museum,[4] a head in the Uffizi,[5] a mail-clad portrait statue in the Naples Museum,[6] and a marble head in the Villa Albani,[7] and identifies each as a portrait of Gaius.

10. Marble portrait head of some young member of the Julio-Claudian family, found in Sussex.[8] This can scarcely represent Gaius or Lucius.

11. Cameo in Berlin bearing a portrait of a young man of pronounced Augustan type, yet clearly not Augustus.[9] Furtwängler, comparing it with the *aureus* of Gaius (Fig. 4 A), concludes that

[1] Cf. *op. cit.* p. 123.
[2] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 305, No. 2.
[3] *Arch. Anz.*, 1910, col. 532 f., figs. 1 and 2.
[4] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 304, No. 1.
[5] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 306, No. 11.
[6] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 306, No. 9.
[7] Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 305, No. 5.
[8] Cf. Haverfield, *Arch. Anz.* 1911, cols. 306–308, fig. 12.
[9] Cf. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, taf. XLVII, No. 51,—II, p. 227, No. 51.

it is a portrait of the latter,—a conclusion borne out by its evident resemblance to the Gaius at Corinth.[1]

From the foregoing it is clear that but slight confirmatory evidence for the identification of the Corinthian portraits is to be derived from a study of other supposed likenesses; indeed, the identification of each and all of the latter is based upon grounds so infinitely more hypothetical than is that of the marbles at Corinth that the evidence of iconographic resemblance ought clearly to be adduced in the opposite sense. Nevertheless, a strong mutual confirmation is, perhaps, to be admitted in the case of the Corinthian portraits and the relief in the Uffizi, and in that of the former and the bronze in New York, as well as the cameo in Berlin. Further, if the pair of marble busts in Madrid so highly praised by Bernoulli[2] were available in adequate reproductions for comparison with the portraits at Corinth, I feel sure that the mutual confirmation would be even more striking.

To anyone, therefore, who, with unprejudiced mind, has followed thus far the course of my argument for the identification of the Corinthian portraits, it must seem that the case in favor of the proposed attribution is complete. There can be no doubt that these portraits represent Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

Before passing on to a consideration of the remaining works of the Corinthian group a few words must be said as to the probable date of these portraits,—a question which logically arises at this point. In the first place, then, is there any known historical fact which would account for Gaius and Lucius having been thus honored at Corinth?

As to the number of statues and busts erected to the honor of these princes throughout the empire, there is every reason to believe that it was considerable. As the adopted sons of Augustus and the clearly designated successors to the throne, their rank was second only to that of Augustus himself, and when the latter, as it were, set the fashion by the early bestowal of numerous and extraordinary honors, cities, colonies, and individuals were not slow to follow. This, as might be expected, was particularly true of the eastern half of the empire, a fact clearly demonstrated by the number of coins struck with their portraits throughout the East.[3] Furthermore the extraordinary power with which the

[1] Compare Fig. 5, with the gem cited.
[2] *Op. cit.* II, 1, p. 134.
[3] *Vid. supra.*

youthful Gaius was clothed as Proconsul of Asia must surely have furnished occasion in that whole region for the erection of numerous monuments in his honor; this may be assumed the more particularly since to Lucius there was set up a statue in Nicomedia although he had never visited Asia and was at the time but fourteen years of age.[1] The example of Nicomedia was doubtless followed in other cities of the Orient, yet the portraits of Gaius must always have been greatly in the majority.

As to Greece itself there is every reason to suppose that here also the princes were signally honored. Indeed, statues of Gaius and Lucius in Athens are known to us through inscriptions; the former was represented in the guise of the youthful Ares,[2] while a statue of the latter was placed above the gateway of the Roman Agora.[3] Since Corinth was at this period of greater importance than Athens, at any rate commercially, and since, moreover, it represented the chief station on the direct route from Rome to the East, it is certain that Gaius sojourned there for a time while on his way to take command in Asia. He was, therefore, well known to the Corinthians and doubtless well liked. Hence his portrait was sure to have been included in the great imperial group, the erection of which was projected if not already under way at this very time.[4] Further than the very general considerations just mentioned I am aware of no definite historical references which might either account for the appearance of these portraits at Corinth or serve to date them accurately. I think, however, that certain valid conclusions in this sense are to be drawn from the sculptures themselves.

We have already seen that there is good reason to believe the portrait of Augustus at Corinth was set up not long before 2 A.D., while that of Tiberius was, perhaps, erected shortly after the death

[1] Cf. Perrot, *Explor. Arch. de la Galatie et Bithynie*, I, p. 4.

[2] Cf. *C.I.G.* I, 311.

[3] Cf. *C.I.G.* I, 312; also Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, p. 186,—"Above the pediment or gable there was formerly a pedestal which, according to the inscription *C.I.A.* III, 445, supported a statue of Lucius Caesar."

[4] I wish to call attention to the fact that here also we have a striking confirmation of the distinction involved in the bestowal of the name Gaius upon the more complete and carefully worked of the two youthful portraits; *i.e.*, since Gaius was known personally to the Corinthians, a more accurate and more finely finished portrait would naturally be demanded by them than would be deemed necessary in the case of Lucius. Moreover the sculptor, who was most certainly a Corinthian, had in all probability himself seen Gaius.

of Gaius in 4 A.D.[1] Since the portraits of Gaius and Lucius belong to this same group they must, therefore, have been erected at about the same time. On grounds of probability, however, I think it unlikely that either of the princes would have been honored at Corinth before the visit of Gaius, whereas thereafter the probability would have been greatly increased, and further, that directly after the death of Gaius this would hold true to a much greater degree. We know that the body of Gaius was conveyed with great pomp to Rome from Asia Minor, and here again the route must certainly have lain through Corinth. What more natural, therefore, than that, in addition to the temporary manifestations of grief and respect, the Corinthians should at this time have decreed the setting up of a memorial in the form of a portrait statue,—not only of Gaius whom they knew and truly mourned, but also of Lucius who had died but a short two years before? That such was, indeed, the case is impressively confirmed by the very manner in which the youths are represented. For while the Augustus and Tiberius of Corinth appear in the dress of everyday life, engaged apparently in a common religious rite, the two youths stand forth in heroic nudity, in the guise and posture conventionally assigned to Hermes. At this early period of the empire they would, I believe, scarcely have been so represented during their lifetime; at any rate I am aware of no contemporary nude statue of Augustus for example—or of any other member of the imperial family—which can be shown to have been set up before the death of the person represented.[2] Furthermore it is scarcely probable that statues would have been erected to either Gaius or Lucius after the death of Augustus in 14 A.D.; in fact I think that honors of this sort would have ceased within a comparatively short time following the death of the princes, and most probably after the due period of mourning, when Tiberius had been clearly designated as the successor to the throne. A dead prince is soon forgotten,—and all the more quickly when his follower in the succession is known to have been his enemy.

[1] Cf. the articles on Augustus and Tiberius in the preceeding numbers of the *A.J.A.*, pp. 142 ff. and 248 ff.

[2] But it must be admitted that in Athens and elsewhere the young princes would seem to have received at least semi-divine honors before their death; cf. for example an inscription in Athens, *C.I.A.*, III, p. 496, 444a, in which Gaius is called the "son of Ares," Ἄρηος υἱόν. This inscription was not dedicated after the death of Gaius, but very shortly before, probably in 3 or 4 A.D.

From the foregoing considerations, therefore, it seems to me that the portraits of Gaius and Lucius at Corinth are to be dated within a comparatively short period immediately following the death of Gaius in 4 A.D. If, however, such exactitude be objected to on the ground of insufficient evidence, it will be readily admitted that the portraits must at least fall between the years 1 and 14 A.D.

In conclusion I must draw the reader's attention to several very interesting points of style discernible in these two works,—more particularly, of course, in the Gaius. It is quite apparent that in this statue we are to recognize an expression of the eclectic neo-Attic school, the working of which was so evident in the Corinthian Augustus;[1] we note the same athletic build and length of leg, the small head, and the rather schematic treatment of the folds of the remarkably well-moulded *chlamys* depending from the left arm. As to this drapery, I must note in passing that in my estimation its folds manifest most clearly the influence of clay modelling upon the marble technique, particularly in the rendering of the crumpled surface texture,—and herein is perhaps to be recognized a confirmation of the inference already drawn from the presence of *puntelli* on the left arm (cf. *supra*, pp. 343 f.), *i.e.*, that the statue was taken from a clay or plaster model with the assistance of some mechanical "pointing device."

Although the figure is rendered in a general style distinctly neo-Attic, it nevertheless shows certain variations from that norm which seem to me suggestive and well worthy of closer examination. It will be noted for example that the torso is heavier, more powerful, and of greater muscular development in proportion to the length of leg than is usual in neo-Attic work; the muscles stand out more clearly, are of firmer texture, more strongly modelled; the shoulders, though of great width, are sloping and heavy, and quite lacking in that square and slender angularity so characteristic of the school.[2] Moreover the groin-line, with the heavy roll of muscle just above the hip, is treated in totally different fashion, its curve more rounded and breaking sharply with the horizontal sinking at the hips, while the arms are proportionally shorter and more powerful. And, further, the figure as a whole possesses a certain sturdy, straightforward frankness of expression

[1] Cf. article on the Augustus, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 154.

[2] Cf., for example, our Pl. X, with the male figure of the Orestes and Electra group in Naples.

far removed from the languid self-consciousness of the usual neo-Attic work.

The source of these peculiarly distinctive variations from the norm, variations which serve to set apart these Corinthian statues from any neo-Attic work hitherto known, is not far to seek and might indeed have been predicted from the very geographic position of the city of Corinth. To make clear the source, therefore, it is scarcely necessary to suggest the comparison of the Corinthian statue with the Doryphorus in the Naples Museum.[1] The resemblance is so striking that it requires little comment. Due allowance having been made for the static pose and advanced left leg of the Gaius, together with the greater slenderness of the legs themselves and the smaller scale of the head, it is quite plain that the Corinthian figure was directly inspired by the famous work of Polyclitus. That this should be the case is not surprising. Although Polyclitus was himself an Argive, the schools of Argos and Sicyon seem always to have been closely united, and it is now well known that their common centre was transferred to Sicyon as early as the fourth century B.C.; further, it is quite logical to suppose that, as long as the art of sculpture continued alive in Greece, Sicyon remained the centre from which radiated the influence of the Peloponnesian athletic sculptors in bronze. Taking into account these circumstances, therefore, and recollecting also that the walls of Sicyon stood within sight of the ramparts of Corinth, we can scarcely wonder at the remarkable variation from type to be seen in the Corinthian Gaius; it is exactly what we might have expected. Although neo-Attic and eclectic it is characterized by the preponderant influence of the old Peloponnesian athletic canon. Indeed, this influence is to be traced even in details. For example, the head, though small, is covered with the close-fitting hair of the Polyclitan type, which in its stiff and accurate locks betrays clearly the influence of the bronze technique. The latter is plainly indicated also by the pronounced abdominal line. But enough has already been said to demonstrate my point.

These statues at Corinth, then—the Gaius, Lucius, and Augustus—prove the existence of the neo-Attic school in Greece. They show also that, in Corinth at least, the slender Lysippean canon of the school was considerably modified under the influence of the heavy Peloponnesian athletic type of the fifth century.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. E. H. SWIFT.

[1] Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, taf. 273.

A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

PART IV

Reprinted from the American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series, Vol. XXVI (1922), No. 2

American School
of Classical Studies
at Athens

A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT CORINTH

IV. The Four Torsos

[Plate I]

A.—Colossal Semi-nude Male Torso

With one possible exception the four mutilated statues to be discussed in the present article seem to have formed part of the great imperial group of portraits at Corinth, the more important members of which have already been considered. All were found in the same area above and to the south of Pirene, and one only was discovered beyond the limits of the Roman basilica so often mentioned.[1] On grounds of style and technique it is plain that three at least of these statues must have belonged to the group as originally constituted, while the other may well have done so. I shall discuss these works in their apparent order of importance in the group, beginning with a colossal male figure in heroic pose (Plate I). This came to light at a great depth in the northwest quarter of the basilica, where it rested very little above hard-pan. It was overlaid by a thick stratum of fragments of early mediaeval tile and ruined walls of the same period, and had apparently suffered much the same treatment at the hands of the Byzantine wreckers as that accorded the Lucius.[2] It was found lying slightly tilted on the left shoulder and side.

As already mentioned, the statue is of colossal scale, and is preserved from the base of the neck nearly to the knees, its total height being 1.52 m.;[3] the right arm, shoulder, and whole right side of the chest is broken away, and the left forearm is also lacking. At the top of the median line of the chest there appears a roughly worked cup-shaped depression, clearly the bottom of a

[1] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 143, fig. 1.

[2] Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 338 f.

[3] Further dimensions: maximum width across front .82 m., from navel to ground .90±m., from navel to bottom of cutting for insertion of head .55 m.

hollow socket fashioned to receive the neck-base of a head cut from a separate block. The upper portion of the left breast is also scarred, while the deeply cut folds of the drapery are much damaged, particularly the heavy vertical mass before the left leg, the folds crossing the abdomen, and those upon the right thigh; many small fragments of the drapery were found near the statue where they had been scattered and forgotten by the wreckers, thus escaping the mediaeval lime kiln. Although the feet and lower part of the legs are lacking, there came to light a huge shattered plinth of Pentelic marble with two colossal bare feet attached, and the remains of a supporting tree-trunk, all cut from a single block; this was found in a jumbled mass of debris of the Roman period at about the same depth and only a few meters distant from the statue itself. The whole front of the plinth is broken roughly away, the right foot is shattered nearly to the instep, while the heel only of the left is preserved. In consideration of the place where it was found, the material, and the size of the feet,[1] this basis must certainly have supported the great male figure, although the actual joining of the two cannot be effected. Upon the upper surface of the plinth, and particularly beneath the instep of the right foot, there exist traces of a red painted stucco.

The material from which the great figure is cut, though similar to that of the other members of the group, is of a considerably finer texture and better grade; the only trace of a flaw is that discoverable along the plane of the break through the left forearm.

The statue is a semi-nude male figure clad only in a richly draped *himation* or *pallium*. From the left shoulder the drapery passes diagonally downward across the back, is thence brought forward in complicated folds across the right hip and abdomen, and is caught up over the extended left forearm whence it falls in heavy masses along the left leg. The figure stood apparently with its weight on the right leg and with the left slightly advanced. Many analogies may be quoted for the pose and general handling of the drapery, the type being clearly that traditionally assigned to

[1] The right foot is more than .37 m. long. Dimensions of the basis itself are: width across front .86 m., slightly wider than the figure itself,—depth from front to rear .65 m., thickness .135 m., greatest height, from bottom, to top of tree-trunk, .35 m.

Torso from Corinth.

Zeus[1] as well as to Aesculapius.[2] Unlike the other members of the group the work now before us shows distinct traces of weathering, particularly over the right hip and along the drapery of the thigh and leg on the same side, where the characteristic golden brown tint of weathered Pentelic marble appears quite plainly. The reverse of the figure is, as usual, very summarily treated, yet from indications furnished by the working of the drapery it seems that the statue was not set squarely against a wall or within a niche, but was posed with the right side considerably advanced. The drapery itself in its remarkably skilful arrangement, in the free and versatile handling of the complicated folds, and in its masterly surface texture, is by far and away the best to be found in the entire Corinthian group; indeed, it is safe to say that we have here a direct harking back to the famous drapery of the Parthenon pediments[3]—perhaps even a conscious imitation—although the archaism is plainly disclosed in the complexity of the folds, the depth of the undercutting, and the restlessness combined with a touch of stiffness which is so characteristic of a late and eclectic art. This impression is heightened by the modelling of the torso itself, which, though correct and remarkably well done—far better even than that of the Gaius—is entirely lacking in fluidity, and gives the same suggestion of hardness and academic method peculiar to the Corinthian works already discussed.[4]

The technique throughout is much more careful and studied than in any of the other pieces, and although evidence of drilling is apparent in the drapery it is in general very skilfully concealed. The flesh surfaces are smoothly worked and unpolished, but of so fine and careful a finish that but slight traces of tooling of any sort can be discovered; it is clear, however, that the technique is of the same sort as that which appears in the other statues of the group, whence we may conclude that all the pieces so far considered are contemporaneous or nearly so.

[1] Cf. Reinach, *Rep. de la Stat. Grec. et Rom.*, Zeus in the Louvre, I, p. 158, pl. 311, No. 683; also Froehner, *Notice de la Sculp. Antiq. du Louvre*, 32, 5; Zeus in Dresden, Reinach, *op cit.* I, p. 188, pl. 401, No. 680; also Hettner, *Antikensammlung zu Dresden*, 225.

[2] Cf. Aesculapius in Rome, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 287, pl. 545, No. 1146; *ibid.* I, p. 297, pl. 560 A, No. 1160 D; also Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, 58.

[3] Cf. the drapery of the "Three Fates" in the British Museum, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 190.

[4] Cf., for example, with *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pls. X and XI, also fig. p. 339.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that in this work we have another interesting example of eclecticism,—an eclecticism, however, which differs markedly from the usual neo-Attic type; indeed, the handling of the drapery is alone sufficient to put this figure in a class by itself. Although difficult to judge of the bodily proportions from the mutilated trunk, I yet think it probable that they followed closely those of the Gaius, allowance of course being made for the fact that we have here to do with a more mature and powerfully developed form; the groin line, for example, with the heavy roll of flesh above the hip, in both works receives a similar treatment, while the actual surface modelling of the thorax discloses the same system of proportions.[1] In the more powerful rendering and detailed musculature we may, perhaps, detect a stronger influence from the old Peloponnesian athletic type, yet it seems on the whole more plausible to account for this merely on grounds of the greater importance to the group of the personage represented. Indeed, the differences to be noted between this figure and the others of the group are variations of degree and not of kind, and are to be accounted for by the assumption that we have here the central and most important figure of the entire assemblage,—an assumption strongly seconded not only by the colossal scale of the work but also by the godlike, heroic guise under which the subject is represented.

As to the person shown by this portrait—and it certainly was a portrait—we have no means of reaching a definite decision; nevertheless it seems to me that it admits of fairly plausible conjecture. As we have seen, all the evidence points to the fact that this statue formed part of the great imperial group of portraits erected in all probability between 1 and 5 A.D.,—it was found within the same building as the others, is of similar material and technique, and belongs to the same school. Other portraits of the group have been identified as Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, and Lucius,—none of them preëminent in scale or workmanship, and each two falling naturally into pairs of companion pieces. If, therefore, neither Augustus nor Tiberius is indicated as the central and important figure of this imperial group, who else could be logically expected to occupy such a position at this particular period of history and in this particular city? Obviously, none other than the Divine Julius himself.

[1] Cf. with *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pl. X, and fig. 1, p. 339.

In support of this conjecture many considerations are to be adduced other than that of the mere heroic proportions and god-like type of the figure,—the latter serving, of course, to indicate that the personage represented had departed this life and taken his place among the immortals. It is well known for example, that the Corinthians of the first century looked upon Julius Caesar as the founder and especial patron of their city, the great deified mortal who had restored the city to its old time wealth and importance after the bitter century of decay which followed upon the terrible sack and destruction of Mummius.[1] It was in 46 B.C. that Caesar determined to rebuild Corinth and sent thither a numerous colony consisting of his veterans and freedmen,[2] whereupon even its name was changed, appearing henceforth on coins and inscriptions as COLONIA IVLIA CORINTHVS, also LAVS IVLI CORINTHVS, and later COLONIA IVLIA CORINTHVS AVGVSTA. It is quite unthinkable, therefore, that the Divine Julius should have been omitted from such a group at Corinth, and even more improbable that the central and important position therein should have been reserved for other than himself alone. We are hence justified in wishing to recognize in this fine heroic statue the remains of a great portrait of Julius Caesar, deified, and shown forth under the aspect perhaps of Zeus the Thunderer, or of the Isthmian Poseidon.

In conclusion it is interesting to note that the cup-shaped depression at the base of the neck of the figure (cf. *supra*, p. 131) may be considered as proof that another portrait head was substituted for that of Julius at a later period of the empire when such piracy of portraiture was common enough. It is extremely improbable that, at the early date when the statue was erected, the figure should have been prepared *de novo* with the head inset and of a separate block of marble.

B.—Smaller Semi-nude Male Torso

A somewhat smaller male torso of semi-nude heroic type, not differing greatly from that of the statue just discussed, was found in the north aisle of the same basilica at a somewhat higher level (Fig. 1). When discovered it was resting on its side and imbedded

[1] Cf. Strabo, VIII, p. 381; Pausanias, II, 1, 2, and VII, 16, 7; Florus, II, 16; Velleius Paterculus, I, 13; Cicero, *Pro Leg. Man.* 5, etc.

[2] Cf. Strabo, *loc. cit.;* Pausanias, *loc. cit.;* Dio, XLIII, 50; also Pliny, *N. H.* IV, 4, 5, etc.

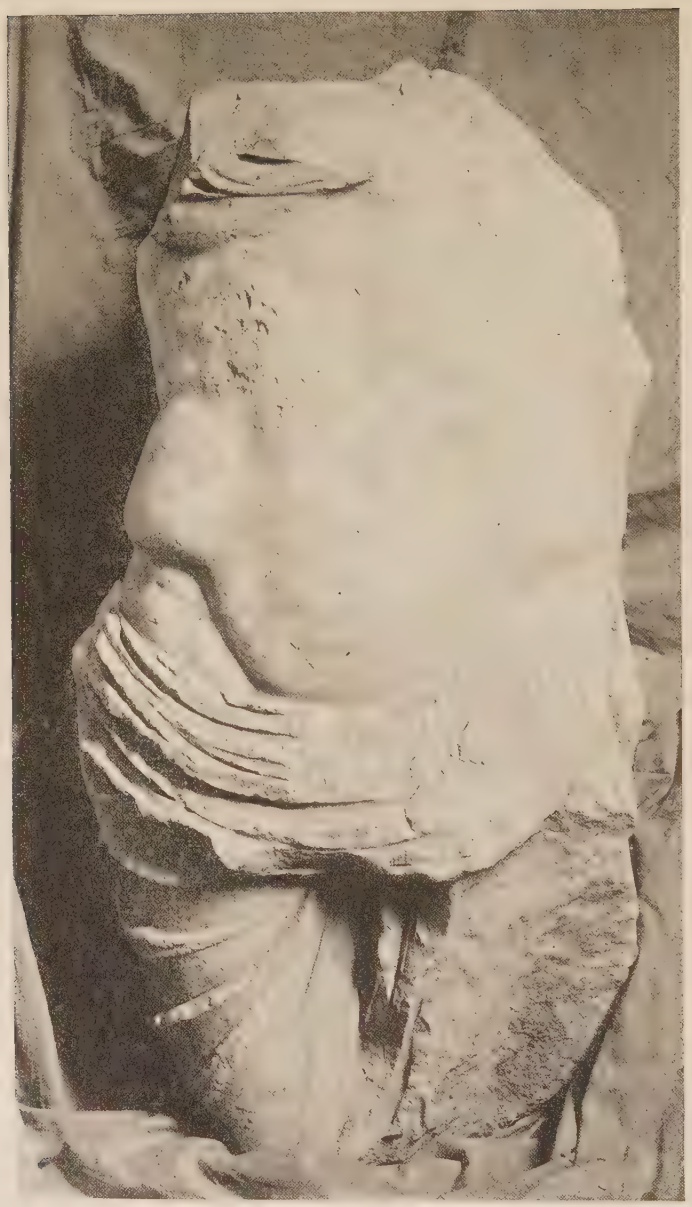


FIGURE 1.—TORSO FROM CORINTH.

in the lower courses of an early mediaeval wall erected upon the ruins of the Roman structure. It had not, apparently, been moved any great distance from the place where it originally fell, but, together with shattered blocks and fragments of the earlier building, had been laid hold of by the mediaeval builders because it happened to be on the spot and ready to hand.

Though by no means colossal, the statue is considerably over life size, and is preserved from the upper part of the chest to a point slightly above the knees, its total height being 1.18 m.;[1] the arms, shoulders, and top of torso have been hacked away, as has the front of the left leg, together with the adjacent drapery. A cup-like hollow similar to that noted in the larger figure appears here also, where it doubtless served a similar purpose. The shoulders and upper part of the chest seem to have been represented as covered by a *chlamys* which was probably fastened on the right shoulder by a brooch; the drapery was thence carried backward over both shoulders and passed downward over the buttocks leaving the whole left side, thigh, and upper leg bare; on the right side, however, a heavy mass of folds is brought around from the back and carried forward over the right hip and thigh, the main body of the stuff passing from right to left and downward across the lower part of the abdomen to the left hip, where it was supported apparently by the left hand. On the right side the lower folds are draped over the right leg and caught up at the crotch in a most curious manner. In fact the entire scheme of drapery is most unusual; it would seem practically impossible to arrange an actual *chlamys* in any such fashion upon a standing figure.[2] The statue is cut from Pentelic marble of the same sort as that used for the other members of the group.

Because of the poor preservation of the work it is difficult to determine its pose with any degree of accuracy. The weight, however, seems to have been carried on the left leg, while the right was probably advanced and flexed at the knee; the left

[1] Further dimensions; maximum width at hips .55 m., from navel to ground .69 m., from navel to bottom of cutting for insertion of neck .43 m.

[2] This method of wearing the *chlamys* is rare even in seated figures,—cf. Tiberius in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *Sculp. des Vat. Mus.*, I, taf. 60, and Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 568, pl. 925, No. 2352. I have found only one analogy to this type of drapery in a standing figure, *i.e.*, an imperial figure in the Museo Torlonia, Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 572, No. 5; *Album of the Museo Torlonia,* No. 118, and Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia.*

hand, as already noted, must have supported the drapery at the thigh, while the right arm seems to have been raised and, perhaps, supported on a long lance or staff. Whether this restoration be correct or not, the pose indicated was common enough in the sculpture of the period and is found with slight variation in many replicas.[1] As in the other members of the group, the rear of the figure is but roughly blocked out, while the few traces of weathering still observable also indicate that it stood originally under cover and against a wall.

The technique is in general similar to that noted in the other works, although the flesh surfaces are, perhaps, not so smoothly finished. The modelling is correct and fairly good, but because of the rough usage suffered by the figure, it produces an impression of lack of detail combined with the usual hardness and academic tone. The drapery, though facile, is rather summarily treated; no considerable undercutting seems to have been attempted, and the whole effect is quite stiff and neo-Attic. In fact, the technical and stylistic considerations—*e.g.*, groin-line, prominent muscle above hips, modelling of the rib-muscles beneath the right breast, etc. (cf. Fig. 1 and PLATE I)—all indicate clearly that this statue is of the same period and school as the other members of the group; they make it equally plain that the figure was intended to represent a subordinate personage in that the work is less careful and less detailed, in which respect it finds its closest analogy in the Lucius.

We can only conjecture as to the person this statue represented. Although in scale it ranks about with the Augustus and is thus considerably larger than the Gaius, the workmanship would seem to indicate, as mentioned above, that the figure was of secondary importance in the group; furthermore, the heroic pose and scanty drapery probably show that the portrait was of a personage already dead and among the immortals at the time of the erection of the group. In view of these slight indications it is, perhaps, presumptuous even to hazard a guess; nevertheless I would suggest that it may well have been a portrait of Agrippa.

C.—Smaller Armored Torso

A mail-clad torso of smaller scale than that just discussed was discovered in a mediaeval wall a few meters southwest of the

[1] Cf. the work already quoted, Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 572, No. 5, also I, p. 560, pl. 912 A, No. 2331 A; I, p. 562, pl. 916, No. 2398 C; I, p. 573, pl. 936, No. 2383, etc.

basilica (Fig. 2). The figure was built carefully into the wall, back outward, and resting on its right side at a depth of little more than two meters beneath the surface.

The statue, of good Pentelic marble similar to that used for the other members of the group, is the smallest of the lot—no more than life size,[1]—and is preserved from the neck nearly to the knees; it stood with the weight on the right leg, the left thrust forward and slightly bent at the knee. The right arm, now lacking, was raised and attached in a separate piece at the shoulder, while the left, which is missing from the middle of the upper arm, seems to have hung naturally at the side. The pose was, perhaps, that of the *allocutio*, that traditionally assigned to representations of a commander addressing his troops.[2] The figure is shown as clad in full panoply consisting of a bronze cuirass moulded to reproduce the forms of the torso beneath, and a kilt of heavy leathern flaps about the loins; beneath the armor is worn a sleeveless chiton which must have fallen about to the knees, while over the left shoulder appears a roll of drapery which doubtless represented the *chlamys* or *paludamentum*; the stuff is gathered rather closely upon the left shoulder, and seems either to have fallen thence straight down the back free of the body, or else to have been wound about the left forearm.[3] An ornamental sword-belt or *cingulum* passes twice about the body and is knotted just above the navel, the free ends being then tucked up in symmetrical loops on either side, while above in the middle of the chest is worked a conventional *gorgoneion* in low relief. Fringing the lower rim of the cuirass is an intermediate row of short tasselled leathern straps, an ornamental *motif* which is repeated in slightly different form about the armholes beneath the epaulets. The drapery upon the left shoulder is considerably battered, as are also the gorgon's face, the tassels and loops of the sword-belt, and the two lion heads—the lower turned upside down—which served to make fast to the breastplate the forward end of the right

[1] Dimensions: total height 1.10 m., from neck to navel .40 m., from navel to lower rim of cuirass .145 m., from navel to bottom of kilt .43 m., maximum width across the shoulders *ca.* .60 m.

[2] Cf. the Augustus of Prima Porta in the Vatican, Amelung, *op. cit.* II, taf. 2, No. 14; Hadrian in the British Museum, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 582, pl. 944, No. 2420; also Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 2, p. 109, No. 14; an imperial figure in Turin, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 599, pl. 973, No. 2309, etc.

[3] Cf. the references just cited.

FIGURE 2.—SMALL ARMORED TORSO: CORINTH.

epaulet.[1] The breasts are prominent and clearly indicated. To judge from the cutting at the neck, the original portrait head was probably broken away and another of the inset variety substituted at a later date, a change similar to that which seems to have been effected in the case of the semi-nude figures discussed above.

In style and technique this statue agrees perfectly with the other members of the group. Although no flesh surfaces are exposed, the characteristically hard and generalized modelling appears in the forms of the cuirass, while the drapery is rendered in the manner with which we are now so familiar.[2] The surfaces throughout are less smoothly finished than in any of the other figures, the workmanship less careful, and, as usual, the rear is but roughly blocked out; almost no traces of weathering are observable. It is plain, therefore, that the statue stood under cover and in such a position that the back was not exposed to view. On the outer edge of the left sleeve of the tunic appear two *puntelli* very similar to those found in a corresponding position on the Gaius as already described.[3]

It is useless to speculate as to the person represented by this portrait,—but judging from the small scale of the figure and its distinctly inferior finish, we may be sure that it stood for an individual of minor importance in the imperial family, perhaps Agrippa Posthumus.

D.—Figure Clad in Elaborate Armor

The discussion of the great cuirassed figure now before us (Figs. 3 and 4), the final member of the Corinthian group so far known, has for several reasons been chosen to conclude the series. Although apparently a typical representative of the large and well known class of statues which figure the panoplied worthies of the

[1] For another example of such a detail cf. a bust of Hadrian in the Vatican, Amelung, *op. cit.* Tafelband I, taf. 12, No. 81, Textband I, p. 97.

[2] Cf., for example, the drapery on the left shoulder with that in a corresponding position on the Gaius and the Lucius, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pls. X and XI; note the very similar arrangement of folds, the same deep undercutting worked largely with the drill, and the striking resemblance in texture.

[3] Cf. the article on Gaius and Lucius, pp. 343 f. Regarding these *puntelli* upon the present work, Dr. C. W. Blegen writes me from Athens ". . . they appear to me more doubtful (than those of the Gaius). It is of course possible that they are *puntelli*, but I should rather interpret them as buttons or heads of pins, or some sort of decoration at the corners of the sleeve."

FIGURE 3.—TORSO IN ELABORATE ARMOR: CORINTH.

Roman Empire, it is nevertheless unique in many respects and in others differs from the great majority of like works of the period. It shows further a style and technique which seem in a way to set it apart from the other members of the group, although these differences are, perhaps, more apparent than real.

It was discovered within the Roman basilica not far from its southwest angle at a depth of about three meters and, as in the case of the smaller cuirassed torso, had been built into a massive substructure of early mediaeval date composed of rough and

heavy blocks, all apparently reused material from the ruins of the earlier building. It reposed on its left side facing into the wall, and hence upon discovery the back alone was exposed to view.

The figure is of Pentelic marble very like that used for the Gaius, while in scale it coincides almost exactly with the statues of the two youths; it is preserved from neck to knees and measures as it stands about 1.50 m.[1] The weight of the figure is carried on the left leg, while the right is slightly advanced and bent at the knee; the right arm, now lacking, was attached in a separate piece just below the shoulder, and seems to have been bent at the elbow and extended forward and to the right. It was at any rate quite clear of the body. The left arm, hanging naturally at the side, is preserved to the middle of the forearm and is crooked slightly to support the drapery which here passes across it. The pose and gesture are of common occurrence in Roman sculpture.[2] The torso is sheathed in a most elaborate cuirass upon the front of which is worked in high relief a fairly common *motif*, that of two winged victories setting up a trophy,[3] while above is a broad *gorgoneion* encircled by two serpents knotted together at the crown.[4] A further and most unusual elaboration is seen in the repetition of the trophy *motif* upon the right epaulet where, due to the limited field, but a single Victory is figured. The kilt which protects the lower half of the body is also very elaborate, and is composed of the usual two ranges of leathern straps, the upper very short and used merely for decorative effect; the individual straps are richly fringed, and in places were deeply undercut and rendered most carefully in detail. This *motif* is as usual repeated in slightly different form about the armhole beneath the

[1] Dimensions: neck to waist line .49 m.; waist line to bottom of kilt .40+ m.; maximum width of figure *ca.* .75 m.; height of trophy on breastplate .345 m.; height of larger Victories .32m.; height of Victory on right shoulder .19 m.; width of *gorgoneion* .15 m.; width of cutting for the neck .21 m., depth .17 m.

[2] Cf. Marcus Aurelius in Rome, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 587, pl. 953, No. 2447, and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 2, p. 166, No. 2; Domitian in the Vatican, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 2, p. 55, No. 1, taf. XIX; etc.

[3] Cf. Trajan in the Louvre, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 171, pl. 338, No. 2114; Wroth in *J.H.S.*, 1886, p. 132, No. 46; *Mon. Scelti Borghesi*, I, 35; Torso at Agram, *J.H.S.* 1886, p. 132, No. 45; *Arch. Epig. Mitth. aus Oester. Ungarn*, 1885, IX, pl. II; Colossal statue in Turin, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 335, No. 20,—Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Ober-italien*, IV, p. 39, No. 55; etc.

[4] Cf. Fig. 4. The *gorgoneion* is a very common decoration in works of this type.

right epaulet. Under the armor the usual tunic is worn, appearing only at the shoulders and as a short skirt below the bottom of the kilt. The *paludamentum* completes the costume; from a complicated mass of folds resting low upon the left shoulder it passes diagonally downwards across the back to the right hip, where a fold spreads widely below the main supporting roll. The latter then crosses the front of the body just below the row of shorter straps and is carried up and over the left forearm to a point behind the elbow; thence it seems to have fallen down the left side at least as far as the bottom of the tunic.[1] As would seem to have been the case with the three torsos just considered, the original portrait head was probably broken away and the cavity at the neck prepared to receive another likeness of considerably later date; at any rate the cutting at the neck is not original.

Although in general well preserved, the torso is somewhat battered and worn in detail; numerous fragments of the drapery are missing, particularly at the left arm, and upon the front of the kilt two of the straps are broken away entirely and others are badly chipped. On the breastplate itself the outer wings of the Victories have suffered considerably, the whole surface is abraded, and many of the details are blurred. The right leg of the statue is preserved to just below the knee, while the left, which was strengthened at the rear by a heavy supporting tree-trunk, the top of which is still in place, is broken off about .10 m. higher up. At a considerably later date, however, there came to light in the northeast section of the basilica at a level not much above hardpan the lower part of a left leg which certainly belongs to this figure. The leg is preserved from the knee down, is supported against a roughly worked tree-trunk, and stands upon a plinth in part preserved, the upper surface of which is covered with a red painted stucco similar to that noted in the case of the Gaius[2] and the colossal male torso.[3] Although the front of the foot is broken away, enough is preserved to show that it was clad in a high military sandal or buskin which extended more than half way to the knee and was fastened at the top by a broad thong wound thrice about the leg and tied in front.[4] From the same

[1] For a very similar handling of the *paludamentum*—at least across the front of the body—cf. the Augustus of Prima Porta, Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 574, No. 6.

[2] Cf. article on Gaius and Lucius, p. 340.

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 132.

[4] Dimensions: from plinth to knee .59 m., tree-trunk .05 m. higher,—width of calf *ca.* .13 m.,—height of buskin .27 m.

section of the basilica in which the statue itself was found and at about the same level, there came to light a left hand grasping a sword-hilt. The hand had been broken off just above the wrist, the tip of the second finger was missing, and the hilt itself was rather battered; a large seal-ring was represented as worn on the fourth finger. Judging from the scale,[1] the material, the sword-hilt, and the place of discovery of this fragment, I think it probable that it belonged originally to the great cuirassed figure.[2] As in the other statues of the Corinthian group, those parts of the figure which were not intended to be seen were neglected consistently, and hence this statue also must have been placed against a wall or within a niche.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the style and technique of this work I wish briefly to call attention to several of its more striking peculiarities. Of these the most important is the shape of the cuirass at its lower edge where, instead of being adapted to the trace of the groin-line and thus extended downward to cover the abdomen as in the great majority of cases,[3] it is carried straight across at the waist. This type appears to be primarily Hellenistic, although it is found occasionally in Roman art where it seems to have been reserved for officers of high rank;[4] it is very rare, however, except in the early imperial period. Another unusual detail is to be observed in the peculiar stepped form given to the bottom of the epaulet. A final point of great interest is raised by a consideration of the helmets which are represented as resting at the base of the trophy erected by the two Victories (cf. Fig. 4). These helmets, although apparently quite commonplace, are of altogether unique form,—at least so far as I am able to judge at the present moment; they appear entirely unlike the contemporary Greek and Roman headpieces, and may well be of a foreign type rarely if ever represented in art. In itself this question is naturally of slight importance, but when we pause to consider that in a number of the more elaborately sculptured

[1] It measures .25 m. from the tip of the fingers to the break at the wrist.

[2] Dr. Blegen, at my request, was kind enough to re-investigate this point also. Although admitting that the hand is suitable as far as size and workmanship are concerned, he doubts that it belongs to the torso, since it would seem to give an awkward position for the arm and hand holding the sword.

[3] As, for example, in a statue of Hadrian in the British Museum, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 582, pl. 944, No. 2420.

[4] Cf. W. Deonna, *Stat. de Terre Cuite dans l'Antiquité*, p. 168 f., and fig. 12; also Reinach, *op. cit.* II, p. 578, Nos. 2, 3.

FIGURE 4.—DESIGN ON BREASTPLATE: TORSO: CORINTH.

cuirasses of the period a perfectly definite historical or personal allusion is to be detected in the scenes and objects represented,[1] the possibilities latent in this apparently trivial detail are at once plain. It is my intention, however, to develop this subject in a subsequent paper dealing with the sculptural representation of arms and armor in the imperial period.

To consider now our statue as a whole (Fig. 3), one would at first sight incline to date it much later than the opening years of the first century A.D., chiefly because of the decidedly coloristic

[1] It is well known, for example, that the return of the ensigns of Crassus is commemorated on the cuirass of the Augustus of Prima Porta; cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Grec et Rom.*, *s.v.* 'Tropaeum.'

manner in which the drapery is rendered, the deep undercutting of the flaps of the kilt, and the numerous indications of the use of the drill to produce lines or spots of shadow not purely plastic. Upon closer study, however, it seems to me apparent that these differences, as between, for example, the Gaius and the present work, are inherent in the subject rather than in the technique, since the flesh surfaces in each case show exactly the same treatment,—the same tooling, similar modelling, and the same general finish. This conclusion is borne out by the proportions of the figure itself, and even more strikingly by those of the Victories upon the breastplate. In the latter the slender neo-Attic proportions are perfectly evident, together with the rather stiff and mannered drapery, and the very self-conscious air of the figures themselves. A characteristic trick, and one of which the sculptor was apparently very fond, is seen in the baring of the outer leg of each of the Victories. In spite, therefore, of the quite evident differences exhibited by this work, a more intimate study of its style and technique places it securely in the same period and group with the Gaius and Lucius,—a conclusion amply corroborated by its place of discovery and the material of which it is made.

Here again it is, perhaps, useless to speculate as to the person originally figured by this portrait, yet to judge from the scale and the elaboration of the work, he must have been of considerable importance in the imperial family. In view further of his evident distinction in a military way, it seems plausible to suggest that he may well have been the elder Drusus, brother of Tiberius, a man who won fame as a leader of Roman armies and who died in 9 B.C. while conducting a campaign in Germany.

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MAR 10 '34